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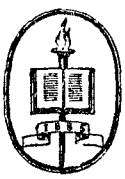
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Elizabethan Seamen in Mexico and Ports of the Spanish Main

THE records of the Holy Office, which was established in Mexico in 1570, contain accounts of the trials of a good many Englishmen, among them some thirty-eight English seamen who had served under Hawkins on his third slaving voyage, which ended with the disastrous battle of Vera Cruz in 1568. My attention was first called to this material by G. R. C. Conway, president of Luz y Fuerza, when I was spending some time in Mexico on business connected with the Guggenheim Fellowships in 1932. Mr. Conway has performed the miracle of making himself at the same time a successful businessman, a sound scholar, and a book collector who knows the books which he collects. Not content with bringing light to the streets and houses of the Mexico of the twentieth century, he has done much to dissipate the darkness and confusion which hang over their history in the sixteenth.

Among other things, he had employed Miss Mary Blake, Mr. A. J. Baker, and others to transcribe and translate the Procesos of the entire group of

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Englishmen examined by the Inquisition in the sixteenth century, and he himself had edited and printed in 1927 the trial of Robert Tomson. With the generosity of the true scholar, Mr. Conway gave me complete freedom to examine and gloat over the riches he had amassed. I was immediately impressed with the value of this material, not merely for the history of Mexico and of the Inquisition but still more for the light which it throws on the character and habits of thought of the common man in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. As a student of Elizabethan rogues and vagabonds, I recognized instantly among these sailors men of a type I already knew.

I urged then, as I continue to urge, Mr. Conway to further publication. He countered by asking help in his labors, feeling still some obligation to Luz y Fuerza. A partnership was agreed upon between us; he would edit one or more Procesos if I could find time to write a general account. Some years have rolled by since we made this agreement; Swarthmore College, the Institute for Advanced Study, Luz y Fuerza, and Adolph Hitler have combined somewhat to impede our joint progress; but aided by the generosity of the Swarthmore board and the kindly hospitality of the Huntington Library and of Dr. Sioussat in the Library of Congress, and vigorously scolded thereto by my old teacher, Professor Kittredge, in almost the last interview which I had with him, I have managed to find the time to block out my volume and to write the first chapter, which, at the suggestion of the Editor, is here printed as a kind of public pledge of the rest that is to come.

I

In a surprisingly short time after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes and his Tlascallan allies in 1519-20, adventurers from the British Isles began to find their way into that country. The first of whom we have any record was a certain Scotsman named Thomas Blake, who is listed in Icaza's *Conquistadores y pobladores* and who seems to have arrived as early as 1534 or 1535.[1] Between that date and 1600 we have records of over one hundred Englishmen in Mexico, and there were doubtless others of whom no record has as yet come to light. Some of these were merchants, often connected with English mercantile houses in Spain, merchant-adventurers in the fullest sense of the term, whose pursuit of gain brought them into contact with every kind of hardship and danger. Others were adventurers pure and simple. In some cases, urged on by the lure of the new-found world of the Indies, they went first to Spain, learned the language, and then joined some Spanish expedition to the New Spain beyond the sea, there to make their fortunes. And some-

[1] F. A. de I. Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923), No. 738, Tomas Blaque.

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times they succeeded. Robert Tomson (whose story is printed in Hakluyt)[2] left England in 1553, at the age of nineteen, to seek his fortune in the New World. He first spent two years in Spain, in the house of an English merchant, John Field, to learn the Castilian tongue and see the orders of the country and the customs of the people. At the end of that time, he says, "having seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came".[3]

In company with John Field and his family, Tomson made the voyage to New Spain. Field died in Vera Cruz soon after their arrival. Tomson, by the aid of the before-mentioned Thomas Blake, was preferred to the service of a gentleman Spaniard, dwelling in Mexico, for whom he worked one year. At the end of that time some indiscreet remarks concerning the worship of images brought him to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities. The Inquisition was not formally established in Mexico until 1570, but the archbishop of Mexico possessed inquisitorial powers for the investigation and punishment of heresy and other sins against the faith.[4] Tomson was kept in prison for seven months, and he was sentenced to wear the San Benito for two years and to be sent for one year to the prison of the Inquisition in Seville. He duly served his sentence, and when he regained his freedom at the end of the three years, he entered the service of Hugh Tipton, a well-known English merchant of Seville, with whom he remained for a twelvemonth as cashier. At the end of that time a Spaniard, Juan de la Barrera, who had grown rich in the mines of New Spain, returned to Seville with his only daughter Maria. The father died soon after, Tomson married the heiress, and his fortune was made.

> The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour.[5]

Others were not so fortunate. Job Hortop, a powdermaker living in Red-

[2] Hakluyt (Glasgow, 1903-1905), IX, 338-58. All references to Hakluyt are to this edition. See also G. R. C. Conway, *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition, 1556-1560* (privately printed, Mexico, 1927).

[3] Hakluyt, IX, 339.

[4] Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908), pp. 196-202. José T. Medina in *La primitiva inquisición americana* (2 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1914) gives the best account of trials for sins against the faith in Mexico before 1572.

[5] Hakluyt, IX, 350.

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riffe, near London, was about fifteen years old when in 1567 he was "pressed" as a seaman on Her Majesty's ship, the *Jesus of Lübeck,* under Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies. Hortop was one of those put on shore at Pánuco, and he experienced much the same series of adventures as the rest of the group of Hawkins's men. After two years in Mexico he was sent to Spain, tried by the Inquisition, and sentenced to the galleys for ten years, to be followed by an indeterminate prison sentence in Seville. He seems to have been unable to get himself released from the galleys at the expiration of his ten years' sentence and rowed for twelve years instead. He was then returned to prison, where he spent four years, at the end of which time he found he could obtain his release by paying a fine of fifty ducats. Hortop did not have the money with which to meet this fine and consequently was compelled to bind himself to serve Hernando de Soria, the treasurer of the king's mint, for seven years in payment of the loan. Finally, in October, 1590, before the seven years were ended, he managed in some unspecified way to get free again and in the course of two months made his way back to England. He left his native country in October, 1567, and returned in December, 1590, twenty-three years later, without money or goods, only thankful that he had not lost his life, as he five times had been in danger of doing.[6]

When Hortop left England, *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was the most popular play on the London stage. On his return, if he had hurried promptly to the theater, which he probably did not do, he might have been lucky enough to witness an early performance of a piece by a new and untried dramatist—a play called *Love's Labor's Lost*. The English literature produced in the decade in which Hortop sailed away to the New World is almost as unknown to the general reader today as it probably was to him. When he returned, the shops in Paul's Churchyard were filled with wonderful new books, and among the newest he might take his choice between the first two books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* Sidney's *Arcadia,* the tracts of the *Martin Mar-Prelate* controversy (which were interesting then, though they are not now), and the great 1589 edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages,* in the next edition of which work, ten years later, Hortop's account of his own travels was to be included.

II

The largest single group of Englishmen in Mexico in the sixteenth century included the seamen and soldiers left behind by Sir John Hawkins after his

[6] See Hortop's Adventures as printed in Hakluyt, IX, 445-65. Hortop was sent back to Spain in 1570, two years before the general roundup of Englishmen in Mexico. He was tried and punished by the Inquisitor in Seville. His name is frequently mentioned by his fellow seamen in their Procesos.

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defeat in the battle of Vera Cruz in 1568. Hawkins escaped from the harbor of San Juan de Ulua with the loss of his flagship, the *Jesus of Lübeck,* and all his fleet except the *Minion,* of three hundred tons, and the bark *Judith,* of fifty tons, owned and commanded by Francis Drake.[7] The *Judith* became separated from her consort the first night and returned to England. Hawkins on the *Minion* found himself with two hundred men, who had fled to her for refuge, and with only a meager supply of water and provisions. The long voyage home in a battered ship, overcrowded to that extent, was manifestly impossible. In a day or two members of the crew began to grumble at the lack of food and water and to wish that they had thrown themselves upon the mercy of the Spaniards in San Juan de Ulua, rather than to face death by hunger and thirst at sea. It was decided that Hawkins should select one half of the number to take their chances on shore and that he should return to England with the remainder. Accordingly, about one hundred men were landed near where the city of Tampico now stands, to face the perils of Spaniards and Indians; and after many tears, embracings, and farewells, Hawkins set sail for home, promising the men who were left that the next year he would either come himself or send someone to fetch them.[8]

The party of men on shore were left without arms, since they were manifestly too weak to fight, and without books for fear of suspicion of Lutheranism. They passed through a series of incredible hardships and adventures. Some thought it best to go north, some south, so they separated into two parties. In a few days the members of the northern party changed their minds, doubled back on their tracks, and rejoined their companions, who were pursuing the way toward Vera Cruz and Mexico—all except a few, three of whom about a year later reappeared in England with the story of having crossed the continent to a place near Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where they were picked up by a French ship and brought home. This story Hakluyt printed in the 1589 edition of his *Voyages,* but he afterward came to consider it so improbable that he omitted it from the final edition of 1599-1600. "As for David Ingrams perambulation to the North parts", says Purchas, "Master Hakluyt in his first Edition published the same, but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next Impression, the reward of lying being not to be beleeved in truths."[9]

[7] There is an excellent account of this battle in Bk. I, chap. VIII, of J. A. Williamson's *Sir John Hawkins* (Oxford, 1927).

[8] This scene is described in several Voyages in Hakluyt, notably those of Hawkins, Hortop, and Miles Phillips, and the story is told in much the same terms by William Collins in his trial before the Inquisition.

[9] Purchas (Glasgow, 1905-1907), XVI, 112. David Ingram's story was printed by Hakluyt in his 1589 edition and has been reprinted by C. R. Beazley, *Voyages and Travels* (2 vols.,

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The main party struggled on, suffering now from thirst, now from drinking too much water when they came upon fresh streams. They were attacked by Indians; some were killed; many had their clothes taken from them; and they suffered especially (as did every European who went out to the Indies) from the bite of a little *mosca* or fly, which because of its size they called by the diminutive *mosquito,* and which has since become one of the least appreciated of the gifts of the New World to the Old.[10] They were weak and ill from lack of food and from eating unaccustomed fruits, and when at length they came to the small Spanish town of Pánuco, they could only surrender and beg for mercy.

Some of the Spaniards in Pánuco were in favor of executing the English heretics without more ado, but it was finally decided to send them bound to the City of Mexico. There are several descriptions extant of the long, cruel journey on foot over the trail up to the plateau, which seems difficult enough to the modern traveler who makes the journey by rail or automobile.[11] In the capital city they were kindly treated; the able-bodied were imprisoned, by order of the viceroy, in the Huerta del Marques, and those who were ill or wounded were sent to the Hospital of Our Lady, already well filled with wounded English who had been captured at San Juan de Ulua a few weeks before. The first care of the Spaniards was characteristically for the welfare of their souls. The Englishmen were examined as to their religious beliefs, and a certain Fray Bartolomé of the Order of Santo Domingo came daily to preach to them the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The intrepid Robert Barret, master of the *Jesus,* who had been brought up as a prisoner straight from Vera Cruz and who, young as he was, had already spent some years in Spain and knew the language, acted as interpreter. Barret was a strong Protestant (he was later burned at the stake in Seville for his heresies) and interpreted the sermons, as William Collins of Oxford, one of the English captives, later told the Inquisitor, "in a rascally manner". Several times in the Huerta, when the friar had gone back to his monastery after the sermon and the English were left alone, a strange scene was enacted. Barret, as leader and spokesman, called them together to debate the question whether they should stand up for the Protestant religion of England or whether they should seek easier terms from their captors by declaring for the Roman

Westminster, 1903), I, 161 ff. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series* (London, 1860-1919), Vol. I, No. 2. There is a good deal of discussion, both contemporary and modern, of Ingram's story, on which I expect to comment in a later chapter. Certainly much of his tale is pure fiction, but the fact remains that he and his companions did by some means get back to England.

[10] Hakluyt, IX, 413. See also IX, 379, and VII, 403.

[11] The story is well told both by Miles Phillips and Job Hortop in their Adventures as printed by Hakluyt.

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Catholic faith, which had indeed been the faith of England only ten years before. "Under what law and what doctrine", demanded Barret, "do you choose to live?" Life and liberty depended on the answer. Most of them had already as children been taught the Roman Catholic ritual. Many had not yet forgotten how to repeat the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Salve Regina in Latin. England had undergone four major revolutions in doctrine within the memory of those who were thirty or over, and it is not surprising that many of these men, now and later, faced with the terrible punishments of the ecclesiastical court, preferred to cast their lot with the Roman faith, which had so lately been the national religion of England. Others were stronger, and the epithets of coward, recusant, and apostate flew back and forth in their heated discussions and were afterward repeated to the Inquisitor in confessions which terror, ignorance, and torture made pathetically complete.[12]

III

But all this was to come later. At the moment the English were put to work, at first in a body, carding wool with slaves in Texcoco. Then, when they rebelled at that, they were allotted, singly or in pairs, to Spanish gentlemen who used them for every kind of service, as personal attendants, as superintendents in farms and mines, as carpenters, mule drivers, cloth workers, and tailors. Thus employed, the English seamen made places for themselves, learned the Spanish language and in many cases the Indian tongues as well, formed friendships; and at least a few of them fell sufficiently in love with the country to decide to remain there for the rest of their lives.[13]

But questions of religion soon cropped up. The talk after dinner would turn on the new queen of England and the new religion which she and her ministers had set up. The Englishman would describe the religious services of his country and would let fall some unguarded words about the worship of images or prayers to the saints or a new book in which these practices were said to be forbidden, supposed to have been propagated by Martin Luther and called *El Nuevo Testamento*. These conversations were now and again repeated to the master and by him to the ecclesiastical authorities, who since 1528 had set themselves to keep pure the Roman Catholic faith

[12] This scene, which suggests Pistol's "Under which king, bezonian, speak or die", is described by Robert Cook and by John Perrin in the evidence which they gave at the trial of William Collins, and participation in it constitutes Item 59 of the accusation against Collins. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Tomo 52. Conway, Transcripts 4 and 28.

[13] Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905), p. 82. Medina mentions six of the boys of Hawkins's group who remained in Mexico "quizas por ser todos muy jovenes". See also note 19 below.

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in Mexico and to wage relentless war against heresy—so relentless that Las Casas made it his life's work to prevent, so far as he could, the application to the Indians of the cruel punishments meted out to heretics in Spain.

One by one the Englishmen were arrested and called before the worshipful Inquisitor in connection with matters of faith. The presence of so large a body of heretics as those who came with Hawkins seemed a grave danger to the faith of the Christians in New Spain and to their Negro and Indian wards. A roundup of the Englishmen began and was most effectively carried through.[14] Each prisoner and each witness was called upon to mention as many names as he could of his fellow countrymen who had taken part in Lutheran religious services in England or on board ship. Since services were held twice a day on Hawkins's ship and since the quartermaster's mate went about with a rope's end to make sure that every individual was present, this meant every English sailor and soldier in Mexico. Hawkins had landed about one hundred men at Tampico; an unknown additional number had been unable to escape in the *Minion* and the *Judith* from the harbor of San Juan de Ulua and were made prisoners there. Many had died of wounds and disease and hardships, so that the seventy-five or eighty names which we have of Englishmen mentioned in trials before the Inquisition between 1572 and 1575 probably include the greater number of Hawkins's men who were still living.[15]

No very heinous crime was needed to bring a man to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities. José T. Medina has made a list of the Procesos of the Santo Oficio in Mexico before 1571, giving in each case the offense of which the prisoner was accused. An unguarded word might be sufficient, in the eyes of the Inquisitor, to reveal a reprehensible lack of inward orthodoxy. Among the causes cited by Medina for which men were tried were the following:

[14] Inquisition Records, Archivo General de la Nación, Tomo 75, Nov. 20, 1572; Conway, Transcripts 12 and 17. It was evidently the arrest and examination of Collins (who, as he says in a passage quoted below, got into trouble by talking too much about religion) which opened the eyes of the Inquisition to the danger to the Catholic faith of the presence in Mexico of these English heretics. The *aucto de Prision* (order of arrest) says in so many words: "Aviendo visto la testificacion hecha por Guillermo Calens yngles Preso en las carceres deste santo oficio en su proceso." Collins was arrested on September 20, 1572, and had fourteen audiences between October 11 (his first) and November 19. The Instancia General for the arrest of all Englishmen in Mexico was dated November 20, 1572. Practically all of them were arrested during the next three or four months.

[15] It is difficult to make any satisfactory tabulation of the numbers involved. Williamson, p. 237, reckons up a total of 114 men who left the *Minion* at Pánuco. Most of the sailors in their trials put this number at 100, as do the stories in Hakluyt. The list of those arrested at Pánuco contains 78 names. Many of the most important of these were sent back to Spain by the plate fleet in the autumn of 1568. I have so far come across no list of those captured at San Juan de Ulua. The names of 75 or 80 Englishmen were mentioned by different men in their Procesos; 38 were actually tried by the Inquisitors in Mexico.

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For a man's affirming that something which his wife had said was as true as the Scriptures; for saying that the estate of marriage was more perfect than that of clerical celibacy; for not allowing one's wife to go to mass; for a man's saying that a friend of his was as good a Christian as the saints in Heaven; for speaking disrespectfully of those in authority; for not taking off one's hat to the priest; for having purloined stones from the fabric of the cathedral; for saying that if in holy meditation one's thoughts wandered to the subject of food, then the meditation came from the Devil; for saying that many saints worshiped by the church are really in Hell because they had been canonized through favoritism.

The author of this heretical remark was a conquistador, Alonso Soltero. Another conquistador, Rodrigo de Segura, who was reputed to be over one hundred years old, was brought to his trial for the curious statement that Jesus Christ would not have known the hour of his death if an angel had not come down from Heaven to tell him.[16]

From crimes which were merely idle words or the product of disordered or naïve thinking about the great mysteries of the Catholic faith, the causes proceeded through all degrees of heresy and misconduct—blasphemy, conjugal irregularities, and bigamy being the most frequent.

IV

The punishments of the Inquisition, severe as they may seem to us, were no more cruel than the penalties for ideological aberrations in many countries today. Only three or four of Hawkins's sailors were burned at the stake, and of these only two suffered in Mexico.[17] The greater number of those tried were sentenced to abjure their heresies in public, each man wearing the penitential garment or San Benito, walking barefoot with a candle in his hand, to undergo the lash, and to serve periods of from six to ten years in the galleys in Spain.

There were eight boys among this group of Englishmen, ranging in age from twelve to twenty years at the time they were arrested by the Inquisition, December, 1572, to February, 1573. Since the dates of their births fell between 1551 and 1560 (only one of them having been born after the end of Mary's reign), they had of course all, except this one (and I suspect him of prevaricating about his age), been baptized as infants into the Roman Catholic Church,

[16] Medina, *Inquisición en México,* pp. 248-89.

[17] George Ribli was burned in Mexico in the auto-da-fé of 1574 and William Cornieles in 1575. Robert Barret was burned in Spain in 1573. Hortop says that John Gilbert underwent the same punishment in Seville at the same time. Another of Hawkins's men may have been so punished, but it cannot have been John Gilbert since the records are clear that he was punished in Mexico in 1574.

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and they had of course conformed to the Elizabethan settlement, whether they understood it or not, and had been present at the religious services on shipboard. Even the Inquisitors saw that it was ridiculous to treat these boys as apostates from the Catholic faith, but the five who were punished in the auto-da-fé of 1574 were, nevertheless, convicted of that crime. But they were given extremely mild sentences. They were spared flogging, and each one was condemned to three or four years of service in a monastery in New Spain where he might be instructed in the mysteries of the Catholic faith.

One of the Inquisitors, Licenciado Bonilla, voted consistently that all of these five should be acquitted on the ground that they were too young to know what it meant to believe or disbelieve, even now in Mexico, and much less when Elizabeth came to the throne and the religion of England was changed. Bonilla was, however, outvoted each time, and the five boys were sentenced as I have indicated.

A slight change was made in the composition of the Inquisitorial Court when the last three boys were tried, Robert Cook, John Storey, and Paul Hawkins. They had been arrested in Michoacan, and the bishop of Michoacan was asked to sit as Ordenarius at their trial. When it came to voting, he agreed with Bonilla, and the vote was that these three should be acquitted. The fiscal (prosecuting attorney, we should call him) immediately asked leave to appeal to the Suprema in Spain, on the ground that these three cases were exactly the same as the other five and that it would be injurious to the reputation and prestige of the Holy Office to acquit these boys when the others had been convicted. Bonilla consented to the appeal. The cases were referred to the Suprema in February, 1574. I have read the arguments and regret that I have not space to reproduce them here, particularly because, in the case of Bonilla, they demonstrate that even an Inquisitor could have some promptings of humanity and common sense. The decision was handed down by the supreme tribunal three years later (rather a quick disposition of the case as such matters went in the sixteenth century), and it was directed that these boys were to receive the same conviction and the same punishment as the others.[18]

The punishments meted out to these young men were of course anything but severe. Most of them, according to Miles Phillips (who is the only one I

[18] Seven boys were punished (albeit with easy sentences) in the auto-da-fé of February 28, 1574: Miles Phillips, Thomas Ebren, David Alexander, John Evans, William Low, John Perin, and Richard Williams. Andres Martin was aquitted on March 15, 1574. Robert Cook, John Storey, and Paul Hawkins, after the reference of their cases to the Suprema, were punished eventually in the auto of December 15, 1577. The cases are recorded in Archivo General de la Nación, Tomos 52-57; Conway, Transcripts 2 and 8-16.

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can identify as having later returned to England), preferred, when their time of service was ended, to live out their lives in New Spain.[19] Though the punishments were mild, they carried in them the possibilities of serious hardship. One of the arguments which Licenciado Bonilla had made was that the Inquisitors ought to acquit these boys in order to avoid possible harm to their descendants, which might come from the fact that an ancestor had actually been punished by the Inquisition. It so happens that the records of the Inquisition in Mexico confirm in a startling way the fear which Bonilla had expressed. The trials which I am describing took place in 1574, and the three boys whose cases were appealed to Spain were punished in 1577. Because of the fact that they had to be kept in custody so much longer than their fellows, their periods of service in a monastery were cut down to one year. In 1578 their punishments were fulfilled, and they were discharged.

Over one hundred years later a certain Sr. Martin Garcia Ruedon living in Mexico City had a son, Manuel Garcia, who made application for admission to the Order of San Francisco. In some way the officials of the order discovered the fact that the wife of Martin Garcia Ruedon, a certain Maria de Oreguela, was a descendant in the seventh generation of Paul Hawkins, one of the three boys whose case had been appealed to the Suprema in 1574. Although Paul Hawkins had been reconciled to the church 110 years before, this stain in the blood of his descendant in the seventh generation was such that the officials of the Order of San Francisco did not feel free to admit Manuel Garcia to membership, unless he could secure from the Inquisition a certificate of limpieza—what we should call in our dialect a clean bill of health.

The father was indignant, as indeed was the Mexican Inquisitor of the time. Nevertheless, as he thought the matter over and talked it over with his colleagues, the question arose as to whether or not the Mexican Tribunal actually had the power to give the certificate required. After all, the case of Paul Hawkins had been referred to the Suprema; he had been tried, convicted, and punished, and Manuel Garcia was his descendant. It was thought best to appeal the matter to the Suprema in Spain. A petition was presented on behalf of the boy on September 15, 1685. It was sent to Seville with a sheaf of accompanying documents. There was a great deal of correspondence to and fro. Certain facts were called for from the church records in the original residence of Paul Hawkins in Michoacan. For thirteen years the case was discussed to and fro by letters which might take anything from three

[19] Miles Phillips gives in chap. VI of his Adventures, Hakluyt, IX, 430 ff., such facts as he is able to gather about the later adventures of his fellows. See also note 13 above.

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to nine months in transit from Mexico to Seville. Finally, on October 20, 1698, the needed certificate was received in Mexico, and Manuel Garcia Ruedon was declared to be a man with clean blood.[20]

If the punishments of the Inquisition were mild according to the standards of the day, the trial must have been a fearful ordeal. These English prisoners were for the most part ignorant men; many of them did not know how to read or write. They knew little about the Inquisition except its terrors. The proceedings were conducted in a strange language, which, however, many of them seemed to have learned surprisingly well. Only two or three needed the services of an interpreter. They were usually kept incommunicado, so that there was no opportunity for consultation with friends outside, and when two or three of them were placed in a cell together, a Spanish prisoner was frequently confined with them in order that he might retail to the Inquisitor the conversations which he heard. The Englishmen were never sure whether it would better their case to emphasize the pressure used in England to force all classes to conform to the Protestant religion, or whether it was better to try to minimize the differences between Elizabethan Protestantism and Spanish Catholicism, in the effort to prove that their heresy was merely in outward forms and not in fundamental beliefs. This attitude the very character of the Elizabethan settlement did much to make natural.

The Englishmen testified freely against each other, or at least admitted facts such as the universal participation in Protestant services on shipboard, which, in the eyes of the Inquisitor, amounted to the same thing. Many of them were examined under torture.[21] When this was done the Inquisitor, the secretary with his notebook and papers, the hangman and his assistant, gathered in the torture chamber, and the prisoner was brought in. Everything was done in careful order. The prisoner was stripped naked; he was solemnly warned that he should tell the truth and that if the torment should result in death, or loss of blood, or mutilation of his body, he had only himself to blame. At each turn of the screw he was admonished again to speak the truth. Each turn of the screw and each jar of water was noted; the questions were put, and his answers, even his agonized "morir, Senor, morir", were carefully written down until, when a confession was finally extorted or when the torture began to fail of its effect, the hangman was ordered to

[20] The documents upon which this account is based are attached to the account of the trial of Paul Hawkins (Pablo de la Cruz). Inquisition Records, Archivo General de la Nación, Tomo 55. Conway, Transcripts 11 and 33.

[21] Nine men out of thirty-eight were ordered to be examined under torture. The ordeal lasted in each case about two hours. Five "overcame" the torture, in the language of the day, by refusing to alter statements previously made. Four broke down and confessed, one of these, John Breton, before the torture was actually administered. William Cornieles confessed on the rack but later refused to ratify his confession. He was, nevertheless, burned at the stake.

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desist, and the prisoner sent back to his cell, where his injuries were attended to in order that he might be made ready for renewal of the torture at another examination.

There was good reason for English prisoners to face the Inquisition with terror in their hearts, and that terror is vividly reflected in the record which we have of conversations between English prisoners in the dungeons, questions debated endlessly to and fro, of the possible effect upon the Inquisitor of this statement or that. From these reports one gets a vivid impression of what it meant to an ignorant English sailor to be a prisoner of the Inquisition in the strange country of New Spain, four thousand miles from home.

In one process there are preserved seventy pages of testimony of a Spanish spy who was placed in the same cell with two English prisoners and who retails to the Inquisitor the conversations which he heard. At the close of one long dispute of confused religion and theology—whether Hawkins did well or no to say to his men, before they went on shore on the Guinea Coast to capture Negroes, that because death lurked in every javelin throw or poisoned arrow, they should confess their sins inwardly to God and say the Pater Noster—one of the prisoners uttered an angry ejaculation which even through the veil of two minds and two languages, before it was written out by Pedro de los Rios, the secretary of the Inquisition, preserves the tension and fear which poisoned the air of those dark dungeons:

> Thou hast done nothing but talk since thou camest in here: I swear to thee by God that thou wilt ere thou leavest this place have reason to rue having said so much, for thou hast done nothing but babble without regard to what thou hast said; and I may tell thee that I myself am a prisoner for having talked too much and I assure thee that I would willingly wear a penitential garment for half a dozen years only to be assured that the Inquisitor will not burn me, and if I escape that fate and get out of here I will sew up my mouth with thread and will not utter a single word all the rest of my life when among Spaniards, who say that the devil goeth about deceiving first one and then another with these matters whereof we speak, and thou hast done nothing but talk and talk and this man (pointing to witness), doubtless a very good Christian, has done nothing but listen and listen although he asketh no questions, and in faith thou mayst pay dearly for it all ere thou goest forth from here.[22]

In a trial which lasted seventeen months, from October, 1572, until March, 1574, one English seaman, William Collins, mentions no fewer than seventy-five of his companions who came with Hawkins to New Spain. Every prisoner who was examined was plied with questions about his fellow coun-

[22] This is a characteristic report of Pedro de Treho, who was confined along with William Collins, Robert Plinton, John Brown, Richard Williams, and others and who retails these conversations to the Inquisitors at great length. See Collins Proceso, Inquisition Records, Archivo General de la Nación, Tomo 52; Conway, Transcripts 4 and 28. The passage quoted above is the rebuke by William Collins addressed to Richard Williams.

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trymen, their names, where they lived in New Spain, what occupation they followed, who were their companions, English, Spanish, or Indian, what were their religious beliefs and practices in England, on shipboard, and in New Spain. The replies of one man were checked against those of another by the indefatigable Pedro de los Rios. New prisoners were shown to a witness concealed behind a grating (one Englishman with two or three Spaniards) in order to insure identification and to untangle the confusion of names, owing to the fact that some Englishmen in Mexico used the Spanish equivalent of their English names, while others adopted various aliases for the purpose of disguise. The result is that the modern historian has at his disposal more facts about the individual members of Hawkins's expedition who were left in Mexico than about any similar group of men that I can remember in the sixteenth century.[23]

V

The facts about the lives and adventures of these English seamen are interesting in themselves, but we are indebted to the Holy Office for more than that; the records include also frank and full expositions torn from witnesses by fear and torture, of their ideas of religion, of Queen Elizabeth, her personal life and public acts, and their naïve comments on the religious and political developments of the first ten years of her reign. These were not the ideas which were evolved in the conference rooms of statesmen or in the studies of learned theologians and divines. They were rather the echoes of current events which could have been heard in the taverns and public houses of London and the English countryside and in the forecastles of the English marauders who harried the Spaniard on every sea in the Old World and the New. The record is ignorant, confused, and contradictory, but it brings us close to the heart and mind of the common man of early Elizabethan England.

One is struck first of all with the opinions which they formed of Mexico. It is easy for us to dwell too much on the terrors of the Inquisition. The sixteenth century was an age when men's stomachs were stronger than ours. Many of the punishments meted out to the English heretics were, as I have said, mild as compared with the ideas of the time. The Inquisition was less cruel in its use of torture than contemporary civil courts in most countries.[24] Instead of flogging and the galleys, a few were sentenced merely to serve for a certain number of years in a monastery in New Spain or to undergo imprisonment in Seville. At the expiration of these sentences many of the

[23] These notes are from the Proceso of William Collins noted above.
[24] Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols., New York, 1906-1907), III, 2.

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members of this little group remained to live out their lives in Mexico or Spain. They married white, Negro, or Indian women, they grew to love the country, and forgot their English homes.

The tales of sixteenth century travelers are full of praise of the "commodities" of New Spain. It was a country of plenty. It is surprising how many of the English sailors are described to the Inquisitor as fat. The gentleness and charm of the native Indians appealed to them from the beginning. Some of the Englishmen learned the Indian languages and found congenial occupations in superintending native labor in mines, in church building, and on haciendas. They thought Mexico a very fine city, and the climate of the Mexican plateau had nearly all the best features, and almost none of the worst, of the climate of their native land. They found the Roman Church a kind mother, once they were reconciled, full of charity and toleration for human frailties, and above all they found peace from the restless theological strife and the confused winds of doctrine which had blown in so many different directions in England during the period of their boyhood and youth.

But the greatest interest of these records of the English seamen lies in their views of what was happening in the England of their day. This was a subject about which the Inquisitors were curious and about which the sailors were glad to talk. There was plenty of time: the trials lasted anywhere from six months to two years, and not much attempt was made to keep either questions or answers relevant to the accusation. Indeed, according to the methods of the Inquisition, everything was relevant. The prisoner was brought before the Inquisitor to confess his sins. He was first asked if he had any idea why he had been arrested. If he replied in the negative, he was told that the Inquisition made no arrests without just cause, and he was bidden to search his heart and his memory to discover what he had said or done deserving of punishment. If confession came slowly, suitable means were employed to accelerate it. The prisoner told the whole story of his life, enlarging upon every point about which he was asked for fuller information. The result was that these long, rambling examinations covered every kind of idea and event in the experiences of the sailors for the twenty or thirty or forty years before 1572. We hear their views on Henry VIII's break with the church, on the outrages committed against the monasteries and the consequent decline of charity and relief of the poor, on the welter of religious discussion and debate in the days of Protector Somerset, when every tailor, carpenter, wheelwright, and mason set up to be a preacher and when reformers from all over Europe flocked to England to add to the confusion. They related a great deal of

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history, real and imaginary: the supposed murder of Edward VI by the duke of Northumberland; the changes made in the parish church by the return of Mary to allegiance to the pope and then by the Elizabethan settlement; the unpopularity of Philip; and the supposed amours of Elizabeth and Dudley. We read descriptions of the farces and comedies then shown in England, satirizing the pope and the friars; we are told about the triumphal cars in London on which the pope was represented with two faces, one side pope and one side Devil, with seven cardinals frisking alongside, portraying the seven deadly sins; we hear of the game of "Reverend Friars" which was played on shipboard, combining amusement with sound anti-Catholic doctrine. The sailors recounted endless arguments about the questions of images, fasting, and prayers to the saints and long summaries of still longer sermons preached all over the south of England and chewed over again and again at many a fireside or alehouse stoop.[25]

We get descriptions of life on shipboard, the religious services twice a day, the sermons of the quartermaster, the reasons which moved the general, Sir John Hawkins, to make this decision or that on the Guinea Coast or along the ports of the Spanish Main; we hear the difficulties and profits of the slave trade in Burburoata, Cartagena, and the Rio de la Hacha. In these tiny ships the captain was close to the sailor, and matters of policy seem to have been freely discussed by all. Accounts differ about various matters connected with the voyage, but on the whole the surprising thing is the clearness of the general outline of the story.

There is no art in these confessions. The witness had only one motive—

[25] The Proceso of William Collins, an edition of which Conway now has in preparation, illustrates all or most of the statements made in this paragraph, and the other trials are full of repetitions and variations of the same themes. I propose to quote the Procesos on these points at some length in later chapters but cannot forbear inserting here the descriptions given of the game of "Reverend Friars" on shipboard and of the triumphal cars in London as examples of contemporary theological discussion, answering such Spanish gibes as the common allusion to Elizabeth as "puta perra luterana".

"Juego llamado los Reuerendos frailes: Dixo que viniendo en la dicha nao capitana de Joan haquines muchas vezes quando traian buen tiempo o estauan en calmas este ye los que venian en la dicha nao, unas vezes unos, otras vezes otros, se juntauan diez y doze o veinte dellos y jugauan un juego que llaman a los Reuerendos Frailes por hazer burla de los dichos frailes y se sentauan en una rueda y dauan a cada uno su nombre, fray rapado y Fray Fulano, poniendoles nombres feos y sucios de luxuria y soberuia y auaricia y vellaquerias que tiene verguenza de declarallos y a este juego jugauan tomando aquellos nombres para si alguno herraua el suyo dalle de nalgadas haziendo burla de la religion de los Frayles."

Comedies, farces, and processions satirizing the Roman religion are frequently mentioned. The best description of the triumphal cars alluded to is in the accusation against William Collins, Item 19: "Item que en confirmacion desta burla y abominacion del papa y de todo el estado eclesiastico, hazen por las calles carros triunfales en los quales pintan al papa con todo su authoridad, segun ellos dizen, y a su lado pintan un diablo y un obispo y asi dos o una cadena de hierro pintan al derredor un carnero un leon un tigre un lobo y una mula todos los quales animales ban delante tirando de las cadenas del coche y en cada animal ba una persona eclesiastica principal aplicandole a cada uno por si y a todos en general los siete pecados mortales."

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to minimize or to excuse his aberration from the orthodox standard of the Roman Catholic Church; but not infrequently it becomes apparent that both witness and Inquisitor are for the moment interested in the subject itself rather than in its bearing on the prisoner's guilt, and the record takes on the vividness of a photograph of contemporary life.

VI

Some of the best descriptions of Mexico which Hakluyt prints are written by English merchants.[26] Right through the middle of the sixteenth century and the reign of Elizabeth English merchants flourished in Spain, and some of them were interested in adventures in New Spain as well. John Chilton traveled all over what is now Mexico and through a great part of Central America. A relation of his, Robert Sweeting, acted as interpreter for some of the English seamen at their trials before the Inquisitor, and a whole group of Englishmen were related by family and by commercial interests which ran from England to Spain to the Spanish dominions. Wealthy English merchants in Seville relieved poor English prisoners in the Inquisition House and interested the duchess of Feria (herself an Englishwoman), as well as authorities at home, in their cases.[27]

It was not a very far cry in Elizabethan days from merchant to privateer to pirate. A voyage like that of Hawkins, picking up Negroes on the Guinea Coast, selling them in all the ports of the Spanish Main where traffic was allowed, taking towns by force or show of force to compel permission to trade when that was refused, capturing any Spanish vessel met on the high seas, making prisoners of the crew and seizing the cargo—this was a business venture in which lords and merchants, and even the queen, might take a share. The voyage of the *Red Dragon* and the bark *Clifford* to South America in 1586, financed by the earl of Cumberland, looks to us like sheer piracy. The manuscript log book of the *Red Dragon,* which is preserved in the Huntington Library, records the capture of Spanish and Portuguese vessels and pitched battles with the inhabitants of Portuguese towns in Brazil in the same matter-of-fact way that it records the winds and tides and weather.

Thus while the exploration of the New World in the sixteenth century gave a wonderful opportunity to adventurous spirits, it was not work for adventurers alone; it combined as well the efforts of leaders in the scientific

[26] See especially the Voyages of Robert Tomson, Roger Bodenham, John Chilton, and Henry Hawkes, printed in Hakluyt, Vol. IX.

[27] See the contemporary *Life of the Duchess of Feria* by Henry Clifford, edited by Canon E. E. Esticourt and the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S. J. (London, 1887), pp. 174-75. Apparently Clifford is giving the duchess credit for the release of Hawkins's men.

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and intellectual spheres, men of action, merchants, and statesmen. The work of the Elizabethan seaman was linked up with the destiny of England, and it laid the foundation of the British Empire which was to come two centuries later. These facts give to the adventures of these soldiers and sailors a dignity and importance which they would not otherwise have. Even the fate of the group which I have been studying was linked with high politics—the Vatican, the court of Spain, Lord Burleigh and the privy council, Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Ridolfi plot.[28]

When Hawkins at last reached England on January 27, 1569, with the remnants of his men in his battered ship *Minion* after the defeat at Vera Cruz, he did not forget the miserable group whom he had left on the shore at Pánuco to take their chances of life or death, nor his promise that he would do his utmost to rescue them and bring them back to England. Tidings reached him from time to time of the fate of these men, of their arrest by the ecclesiastical authorities, of the transportation of some of them to Seville to the prisons of the Holy Office, and of their sentence to periods of service in the galleys of Spain. Hawkins began vigorous efforts through the privy council and the Spanish ambassador in London to secure the release of his comrades. Making no progress at first, he conceived the daring project of pretending to turn traitor to Elizabeth and to being ready to assist a Spanish invasion of England with the ships under his command. He apparently had some inkling of plots which were in the air in 1569, though how much he knew or could have known about the Ridolfi conspiracy is not clear. There seems to be no doubt that Hawkins resorted to this plan with the knowledge and consent of Cecil, who was finding it very difficult to unravel the threads of the Ridolfi plot, especially because his efforts were impeded by the privy council, some of the members of which were actually disloyal. The price which Hawkins placed upon his assistance was the release of his sailors who were held in prison in Spain. The Spanish ambassador seems to have been completely deceived by Hawkins. The duke of Alva in Flanders was skeptical to the end, and King Philip was suspicious but was finally induced to consent. Hawkins pretended, among other things, that he had always been a Catholic at heart and always loyal to Philip, who had been the king of England in his youth. Incredible as it may seem, the plot actually worked. The price was paid, the seamen were released, each man was sent home with money in his pocket, a pardon and a title of nobility were issued to Hawkins ("from which", he said in a letter, "God deliver me"), all the proceedings

[28] The widely scattered evidence for the connection between these English prisoners and the Ridolfi plot is admirably brought together by Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*, Bk. II, chap. II.

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were reported to Burleigh, the last threads of the Ridolfi conspiracy unraveled, the Spanish ambassador dismissed, the duke of Norfolk sent to the Tower (and finally to the block); and Elizabeth and her astute prime minister had passed one more hurdle in the path to the establishment of the independence of England and defeat of the threat from Spain.[29]

In this way did Robert Barret, Job Hartop, Miles Phillips, William Collins, and their companions—rude, unlettered men gathered together from ports and cities and from the English countryside for a voyage of mingled slave trading and piracy—play their part in the majestic historical pageant of the age and contribute their bit to the greatness of England. Hawkins and his followers were rude men, and it was a rough game they played. The rules were flexible, and the stakes were high. They wagered their goods and their lives, not merely for personal gain but also for the survival of England and of Protestantism in Europe and for the possession of new empires beyond the sea.[30]

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[29] *Ibid.* It seems probable that Hawkins at first believed that all his men had been brought to Spain in the plate fleet in 1568. When it became clear that this was not the case, efforts were made to obtain the release of those remaining in Mexico. See Elizabeth's complaints to the Spanish ambassador in 1575 about William Collins of Gravesend. She spoke "warmly and off her guard" about the continued imprisonment of her subjects in Spain by the Inquisition and threatened reprisals. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* (London, 1862-1916), 1568-79, No. 409, p. 491.

[30] Since this article was put into type I have received Mr. Conway's permission to state, as an addendum to the first paragraph, that he has presented a set of his Transcripts from the Records of the Mexican Inquisition to the Manuscript Division of the Congressional Library, where they will eventually be available to students. The terms of the gift, however, quite reasonably specify that they shall be withheld from general use until he has completed the publications which he plans in this field.

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Reflections on the First "Reception" of Roman Law in Germanic States[1]

"RECEPTION" is a term familiar to legal historians. In the broad sense in which it will be used in this paper, it means every adoption of a foreign law, whether relating to the whole of a legal system or a mere part or even a single rule, whether caused by an act of legislation or by gradual growth, whether the adopting people consciously or unconsciously took over an alien thought. Such receptions have occurred time and again in history; in fact, they never cease; they are going on now as before, as another expression of the constant interaction between nations. They arise from both peaceful competition and forcible subjection, and in the latter case it is not always the victor whose legal institutions come to prevail. No system has exercised an influence so far-reaching and persistent as that of the Romans, but its world-wide mission did not begin until their political control drew to its close. Rome, vanquished in battle, emerged as a conqueror in spirit, as *mutatis mutandis* she had once conquered the Greeks only to submit to Greek humanities. As Horace said:[2]

> Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.

Among the numerous receptions of Roman law one event stood out, to the extent that, at least in central Europe, it almost monopolized the term. "Reception of Roman law" used to designate that development in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries in the course of which Germany turned from her native customs to Justinian's Corpus juris, from her popular courts to learned judges, from her own language to the esoteric Latin of the Roman sources. But it is not that phenomenon with which these pages are concerned. They will treat another occurrence of the kind, older by a thou-

[1] This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 30, 1941. Only a few notes have been added. The following abbreviations are used: CE=Codex Euricianus; CEB=Codicis Euriciani leges ex lege Baiuvariorum restitutae; LV=Lex Visigothorum, all of them edited by Karl Zeumer in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH), *Legum Sectio I*, Tomus I (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902). CJ=Codex Justinianus, ed. by Paul Krueger (Berlin, 1915). CT=Codex Theodosianus; Nov. Val.=Novellae Valentiniani, both in *Theodosiani Libri XVI*, etc., ed. by Th. Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer (Berlin, 1905). Form. Vis. and Form. Marc.=Formulae Visigothicae, etc., ed. by Zeumer in MGH, *Legum Sectio V* (Hanover, 1886). SZ=*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Romanistische Abteilung. Zeumer 23, 24, 26=Zeumer, "Geschichte der westgotischen Gesetzgebung", in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Vols. 23, 24, 26 (1898-1901).

[2] *Epistles*, 2. 1. 156.

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sand years, no less momentous, and yet less well explained in character and scope: the first reception of Roman law in Germanic territories. How far did it go? What motives and factors were involved? Was the result a completely Romanized system, or did native elements still survive?

It would be impossible to find a single answer covering all the early Germanic codes (the *leges barbarorum*), enacted from the fifth century by the various tribes who settled on Roman soil. The legal compilations stretching over several hundred years and drafted in very different circumstances were too unlike in both form and substance to provide a common solution. A selection, therefore, appears imperative. It can be made with a minimum of arbitrariness. This study will concentrate on the Visigoths. They were the first of the Germanic peoples to enact a code. Their codes were more comprehensive than the others. They drew upon Roman law to a larger extent and in a direct way, thus becoming the main channel through which Burgundians and Franks, Bavarians and Lombards received most of what they accepted of Roman legal thought. Moreover, it is that immediate relationship between Roman and Visigothic laws which seems to permit and demand a co-operation of Romanist legal historians with the Germanists as the given experts in the field of those codes.

The Visigoths entered Roman territory at the lower Danube in 376, gradually pushed westward across the empire, and saw the largest extension of their rule one hundred years later under King Euric, when they controlled the region south of the Loire and almost all of the Iberian Peninsula.[3] Though France was presently yielded to the Franks, Spain was held until the Arabs conquered it in 711. During these centuries several voluminous codifications were released: the first by Euric about 475, another by Leovigild one hundred years later, a third by Reccessvind in 654, not to speak of Alaric's code for the Roman population, the so-called *Breviarium* of 506, a mere anthology of Roman texts. Only the codes of Alaric and Reccessvind, the latter with amendments of his successors, have come down to us in their entirety, but more than half of Reccessvind's enactments (LV) were taken from what he called *Antiquae* (the Ancient Laws), *i.e.*, from Euric or Leovigild. In addition, about fifty articles of Euric's own code are, in a more or less complete shape, still extant (CE and CEB). These "Ancient Laws", supplying the chief materials for an inquiry into the character of the first reception, furnish the natural center of this discussion.[4]

[3] See the map facing p. 1 in *The Continental Legal History Series*, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools, Vol. I (Boston, 1912).

[4] For a brief survey of Visigothic legislation see, *e.g.*, Munroe Smith, *The Development of European Law* (New York, 1928), pp. 94 ff.

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There were many circumstances which rendered the situation eminently favorable for reception. From the early fifth century the deliberate royal policy of settling the Goths in common fields with the Roman incumbents had created a close contact between the two populations. The Goths, not yet curbed by a definite sense of national particularism and easily impressed, were quick to appreciate the facilities of a more sophisticated, if declining, civilization. As in all aspects of life, so in the law. From the institution of private ownership of land to the relations of master and slave, of litigant and attorney, there were hundreds of precisely formulated rules, ready for application where native custom appeared vague or nonexistent. To present the people promptly with a progressive and stable order, nothing seemed more convenient than a resort to tested devices of Roman law. Security would replace uncertainty; abundance of written regulations, a vacuum. So, at any rate, it must have seemed to King Euric. Otherwise he would not have ventured on a task that certainly could not be mastered with resources of Gothic origin. As far as form is concerned, everything in his code seems to confirm this: the language, the legal diction, the technical terms, some common illustrations, the organization of the materials, the whole legislative style, all these are Roman. The draftsmen, probably Roman by descent like many higher officers at the court, were familiar with the sources, and these sources, of course, were Roman. Since Gothic custom, if ever reduced to writing,[5] was not likely to be precisely defined in the Gothic tongue, it could not be the subject of a learned study or a codification. But such Gothic customs did exist, vigorous in daily use and not a few fully adequate. Would the draftsmen try to abolish them? Could they if they wanted to? To raise the question is to answer in the negative. Thus, of necessity, they faced the problem of reconciling or blending the two bodies of law.

How did they solve it? In subjects which did not involve a serious conflict between the two orders, the course to be followed was obvious. In essentially technical provinces, such as civil and criminal procedure, the Roman pattern imposed itself upon the people before they had an opportunity to work out an elaborate scheme of their own. To a lesser extent, though frequently enough, the alien model was copied in defining or punishing criminal offenses, because the traditional Gothic usage of outlawing the wrongdoer or exposing him to private vengeance did not seem compatible with the exclusive jurisdiction which the king claimed for himself.[6] Moreover, where periods of time, degrees of relationship, and the like had to be reduced to

[5] On the *belagines* mentioned by Jordanes Getica c. 11 see Zeumer 23, 425 f.

[6] For the same reason Euric seems to have adopted the Roman restriction of self-help in killing a thief (CEB 4).

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exact figures or limits, the Roman standard often presented itself as a welcome yardstick.[7]

The last statement is primarily true of private law relations, and private law, at all times, has offered the best hunting ground for problems of reception. There, too, many Roman devices existed which were unfamiliar to the Gothic experience and yet appealed either to the common sense or to the ambitious standard of the legislator, whether or not their implications were fully understood. Consider, *e.g.*, these rules in Euric's code. An immoral or unlawful transaction shall be void (LV 2.5.7).[8] A sale or gift made under violence or threat shall be invalid (CE 286 i.f., 309). A debtor in default shall pay interest on his debt (CE 296). Property which is the subject of a pending lawsuit shall not be sold or given to another person (CE 298). No primitive people has, on its own account, ever arrived at such generalizations. They signify the end of a development, not its beginnings. In fact, those rules were worked out and gradually refined at a time when the Goths had not even entered their historic age. They were a work of Roman jurisprudence.[9] Equally above the level reached by the Goths were the idea of a testament[10] and, most of all, such extensive use of documents in legal transactions as was required or taken for granted in Euric's laws.[11] This use, to be sure, was in its origin not much more truly Roman than Germanic. It had rather been penetrating into the empire from the Hellenistic East,[12] and this did not happen until the Late Imperial period, which we legal historians are used to calling the postclassical age.

Such a development seems particularly informative and significant. It goes far to account for, and to throw light on, the reception. The Roman law, as the Visigoths found it, was no longer the classical law of the first 250 years of our era; it was no longer that exclusive system of a distinct national character which, after a long and unprecedented growth, had been wrought out into its finest ramifications. From the third century the imposing structure of Roman classical law began to weaken. Under the impact of political and economic revolutions heterogeneous elements were allowed to invade, different sometimes in different provinces. Roman law lost its inner consistency;

[7] See, *e.g.*, LV 3.1.4; 3.2.1; 3.2.2; 3.2.3; 4.1; CEB 2.

[8] According to Zeumer's (24, 111 f.) plausible suggestion, this rule of Chindasvind is probably but an enlargement of an original provision of Euric.

[9] It does not matter here whether the form in which these rules are transmitted to us is traceable to the classical jurists. The procedural and substantive law, as they applied it, did not in all those instances permit them to formulate such broad principles (see Ernst Levy, SZ 49 [1929], 241 ff.). But the spirit is always theirs.

[10] As serving the purpose to change the normal way of succession; *cf.* CE 308, 320, 335, 336. As to the detail, the Visigothic will freed itself rather early from its Roman model.

[11] See, *e.g.*, CE 281, 285, 286, 307, CEB 15.

[12] Levy, SZ 49, 254 ff.

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it became vulgarized. But that very process rendered it more accessible to other peoples. The new elements, whether Hellenistic in character, Christian, or of popular growth, appealed more easily to primitive peoples or tended even to correspond to their own habits. Germanic tribes proved particularly receptive in this regard. A second group of illustrations may make that plain.

A widow's guardianship of her children, while foreign to the classical jurists, was an established Hellenistic custom and hence was introduced into imperial law in 390 (CT 3.17.4). The Visigoths took it over (LV 4.3.3), since it agreed with their own custom insofar as a widow used to manage her minor children's statutory portions and to give consent to their marriages.[13] The classical attitude in this respect was but an implication of the peculiar nature of the Roman family. That family, built up on the agnatic principle and therefore including not the wife but the children and further descendants, was headed and controlled by the *pater familias*. All the members were subject to his will for his lifetime, with practically no property belonging to themselves. This organization, totally unknown to the Greek system, underwent, from Constantine's time, far-reaching changes: a child was now deemed capable of owning property, and the father's power dwindled to that of a mere guardian, both in substance and duration, as it did not persist beyond the child's minority.[14] Such devices fitted in well with a common Germanic tendency to relax the father's absolute power.[15] Accordingly, they appear in Visigothic provisions dealing with the child's share in the deceased mother's estate (CE 321) or with the daughter's dowry (LV 3.1.6), each time supplemented by the Germanic idea that a child withdrawing from the father's household, as the daughter by her marriage, was, regardless of age, released from his control.

Another instance is found in the law of contracts. In Roman law at its peak a sale[16] was solely a contract to sell. The seller agreed to transfer the land or the article sold; the buyer agreed to pay the price. It follows that neither transfer nor payment was part of the sale. These effects were attained rather by separate transactions designed to perform what in the contract of sale had merely been promised. Hence failure to transfer title or to pay the price could plainly not affect the validity and binding force of the contract. Again, Constantine (*Fragmenta Vaticana* 35; also *ibid.*, 249) was

[13] See Zeumer 26, 135 f.

[14] CT 8.18.1 (315); Nov. Val. 35.10 (452), both with their Interpretations.

[15] Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 7th ed., by Eberhard von Künssberg (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), p. 351; Rudolf Huebner, *A History of Germanic Private Law* (Boston, 1918), pp. 657 f.

[16] On safekeeping and loan see some preliminary remarks in SZ 49, 245 ff., 256.

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the first emperor to consider the matter in a strikingly different way.[17] For him a sale was simply an exchange of price and goods, a simultaneous act implying both transfer and payment. With that he returned, whether intentionally or not, to Greek custom, which in principle had maintained the type of a cash sale.[18] But that type was peculiar to neither the Greeks nor any other nationality. It was rather the normal type familiar to practically every people who had not yet arrived at a higher standard of legal analysis. Small wonder, therefore, that Euric's rules on sales followed the same popular, less technical trend. They are completely built upon the idea of a cash purchase. They do not know of a mere agreement to sell. They implicitly reject a sale on credit. The central factor around which most of Euric's problems in sales revolve is the payment of the price. Payment, so he directs, has to be proved either by an instrument or by witnesses (CE 286).[19] Lack of payment, even though the parties assumed it was made, frustrates all transactions *(e.g.,* CE 292).[20] If, on the other hand, the price agreed was paid, it did not matter whether it was also equal to what the goods were worth (CE 294).[21] One single attempt to turn away from the strict principle of cash sale is presented by the provision that payment in part would save the contract from being voided (CE 296; *cf.* LV 5.4.6). Yet it had to be a substantial payment. The mere giving of earnest money was not sufficient to create a sale; it only meant that the recipient was for a certain time bound not to sell otherwise (CE 297).[22]

The instances of this second group, chosen as they were from a much larger number, could be traced to late Roman decrees as starting points or as witnesses of a related attitude. But the very decrees reflected a vulgarized law governed by a spirit far remote from classical thought and closer to Hellenis-

[17] Levy, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Diritto Romano, Roma* (Pavia, 1935), II, 41 ff.

[18] *Id.*, in *Symbolae Friburgenses in honorem Ottonis Lenel* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 139 ff.; Fritz Pringsheim, in *Actes du Ve Congrès de Papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 355 ff.

[19] CE 286 init. does not mean to say that a sale, if reduced to writing, was good regardless of payment. Without payment an instrument ought not to have been drawn up or used at all. A contract of sale recorded in violation of this rule was dealt with like a sale under duress. This comes out clearly in Nov. Val. 32 pr. to §3 (451) and its *Interpretatio,* which the draftsmen of CE 286 seem to have had before them. Both the *Interpretatio ad Pauli Sententias* 2.18.10, the counterpart of CE 286, and *Lex Baiuvariorum* 16.2, the immediate descendant of CE 286, regard the instrument as merely one of the means to prove the existence of a sale, provided that the price was paid. It was in this sense that the *Interpretatio* was later referred to by Form. Vis. 13 (as combined, *e.g.,* with Form. Vis. 11) and Form. Marc. II, 19. On these forms see also Arnold Ehrhardt, SZ 51 (1931), 178.

[20] See SZ 49, 245, n. 6.

[21] The very problem whether a sale for a price below value might be voidable presents itself most easily in a system based on cash sale.

[22] Andreas Heusler, *Institutionen des deutschen Privatrechts* (Leipzig, 1885-86), I, 84 f., II, 253 ff.

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tic custom. Was this, then, a reception? The Roman regulation may, more or less, have furnished an incentive, the formal pattern, and some accessories. The Hellenistic substance, if any, while going far in prompting the new imperial trend, did not very often exercise a measurable influence.[23] More frequently the root was Gothic usage. Even if it coincided with Hellenistic practice, it did not necessarily imply an inner Greek-Germanic relationship, whether of a special brand or as a fruit of a general Indo-Germanic family tree. The common denominator in that second group was regularly rather a parallel popular conception. But even where in these instances the Goths were borrowing, they probably did not have to give up much of their own.

Such a reception, apparent rather than real, occasionally comprised a still more interesting phenomenon. An imperial enactment released at Ravenna in 422 provided that a betrothal made by the father was binding upon his minor daughter, even after his death (CT 3.5.12). The West Roman Interpretation construed this enactment as including also a major daughter. The whole rule ran counter to Roman law, where a girl could not be married without her consent and, moreover, the betrothal as a mere promise to marry was not directly binding. The rule of Ravenna complied fully, however, with Germanic custom, which held a betrothal indispensable to marriage and definitely binding, to the extent that subsequent marriage to another man was punished as adultery. Besides, the party to the betrothal on the bride's side was her father, representing her sib, while her consent was legally not required, even after his death (LV 3.1.2; 3.1.6,7,8; 3.4.2).[24] These old observances[25] underlie the Gothic provisions, but at the same time the decree of Ravenna appears to have been drawn upon. Thus an instructive interdependence comes to light. The Visigoths drew upon a Roman decree which, in turn, took advantage of a Germanic custom. The Germanic custom, shaped in Roman dress, returned to its source. Such a zigzag course, a re-reception as we may call it, was not unique. A somewhat similar relation seems to exist between Euric's repeated emphasis that, contrary to Roman law, a slave's transaction was by no means binding on his master, unless he knew about it (CE 283,284,287), and another imperial statute which also happens to date from Ravenna, 422 (CT 2.30.2+2.31.1+2.32.1).[26] Such Germanic touches in

[23] Further illustrations of such influence: SZ 49, 254 ff.

[24] On the situation that arose if a daughter not betrothed by her father entered a marriage of her own volition see LV 3.2.8.

[25] See Zeumer 24, 576 ff., 609 f.

[26] The statute, though still mentioning the *actio de peculio* (2.32.1), leaves it in doubt whether master or slave was liable under it. Its *Interpretatio*, however, makes the action enforceable only against the slave. The *actio quod iussu* is maintained but distinctly restricted (CT 2.31.1; *cf.* also Interpr.: *sicut hucusque fiebat*). The emphasis throughout the decree is on the master's protection against losses resulting from transactions of his slave. See, moreover, SZ 49, 249.

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West Roman statutes[27] are, after all, not too surprising for an epoch in which men of Germanic extraction held leading administrative posts.[28]

These statements seem sufficient to establish the thesis that the early Visigothic codifiers, even if they started from foreign regulations, did not follow them implicitly. In many other instances, moreover, they refused altogether to follow. Totally divergent was, *e.g.*, the matrimonial regime of property. In Roman law marriage as such did not produce any changes with respect to title or management of the wife's goods; a *dos* (dowry), if it was given, went from the bride's side to the husband, who became its owner. Among the Goths, however, it was, in the first place, up to the bridegroom to give the *dos* (LV 3.1.6), which had developed from the purchase price once paid for the bride and accordingly was indispensable for a legal marriage.[29] Secondly, most of the property acquired during marriage constituted a common fund managed by the husband (LV 4.2.16).[30] The conception of such a common property was nothing new to Germanic peoples, who shaped it in various devices, while advanced Roman law, more individualistic in character and averse to any haziness in legal relations, displayed a definite disinclination against joint rights and liabilities.

Fundamentally divergent also was the manner in which a man might recover what was stolen from him or otherwise involuntarily lost. Roman law had come to evolve ownership as an absolute right enforceable against any third person in possession of the object, no matter whether he was the thief, whether he knew or did not know of the plaintiff's title. Under Euric's laws, on the other hand, the possessor could be sued only by an action in theft. He might clear himself of that charge by naming as his warrantor the man from whom he got the object and giving it back to him. Thereupon, the burden of defending the action would shift to the predecessor, who, unless he proved a lawful acquisition, was supposed to be the thief and as such liable to turn over to the plaintiff not merely the object taken from him but also another object of the same kind and value (CE 289).[31] The difference springs readily enough to mind. The Goths found themselves unable to adopt the brilliantly worked out Roman conception of an absolute ownership

[27] For another instance see *ibid.*, p. 258, n. 3. With respect to the *Breviarium* see, *e.g.*, *Pauli Sententiae* 2.1.2; 2.19.2; 2.26.7.

[28] Heinrich Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I (2d ed., Leipzig, 1906), 60; Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt* (Berlin, 1920 ff.), V, 314 ff.

[29] See, *e.g.*, Huebner, pp. 624 ff.

[30] Probably based on CE 325: Zeumer 26, 122 ff., 142 f.

[31] This rule, compared with CEB 6 and LV 7.2.8, clearly shows elements peculiar to the Germanic *Anefang*-procedure. Herbert Meyer, *Entwerung und Eigentum* (Jena, 1902), pp. 36 f., arrived at the same result. The argument presented against him by Brunner, II, 2d ed., by Claudius von Schwerin (Leipzig, 1928), 670, n. 118, seems not entirely convincing. Details cannot be given here.

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valid against the world at large. They would, like the other Germanic tribes, permit an action solely against the wrongdoer, on the basis of a delict.

These results, which may easily be corroborated by further evidence, are not entirely in line with the prevailing opinion about the first reception of Roman law on Germanic soil. It is usually held that the Visigothic codes, including those of Euric and Leovigild, were largely Romanized[32] and that, as a rule, only beneath the surface did Gothic customs survive, officially tolerated rather than acknowledged.[33] This statement seems to include true and less true elements. It is no doubt correct that the actual law as practiced in daily life was native to a higher degree than the codes. The common people have a natural tendency to cling to what they are accustomed. When we do not possess direct evidence in the Visigothic case, our complete lack of documents or judicial reports is responsible. Besides, indirect evidence is not wanting. If such usages had not persisted well into the High Middle Ages, they could not have been reduced to writing in the so-called *Fueros*. Another proof is furnished by the *Formulae Visigothicae,*[34] an extant collection of forms for legal transactions compiled in the early seventh century: studded as they were with Roman flourishes, they clearly display a definite un-Roman spirit.

Not so correct, however, is the common view as far as the earlier codes are concerned, particularly that of Euric. On this code, the oldest monument of Germanic legislation, our judgment should be revised in regard to its significance as well as its substance. Euric's draftsmen set themselves the task of building on the old foundation a new law which, unconcerned with national ideologies, would best serve the demands of a strong state power and a progressive standard in family and property. The code they produced was, as to spiritual penetration and consequence, certainly not equal to the classical level. And yet, even on the incomplete evidence we possess, it may safely be called the best legislative work of the fifth century: superior to the West Roman *Interpretatio,* which was but a paraphrase of older texts; superior to the Code of Theodosius, which was a mere anthology; superior to the contemporary imperial decrees with their obscure verbosity; superior in con-

[32] Felix Dahn, *Westgotische Studien* (Würzburg, 1874), pp. 296 ff.; Zeumer 23, 431 ff., 469; Mommsen, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1905 [ex 1885]), pp. 139 ff.; Franz Beyerle, SZ, Germ. Abt., 49 (1929), 391 ff., 405 f.; Theophil Melicher, *Der Kampf zwischen Gesetzes- und Gewohnheitsrecht im Westgotenreiche* (Weimar, 1930), pp. 6 f.; Arcadio Larraona and Arturo Tabera, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Diritto Romano, Bologna* (Pavia, 1935), II, 90; see also Alfred von Halban, *Das römische Recht in den germanischen Volksstaaten,* I (Breslau, 1899), 197 ff., 205 f., who is followed by Manuel Torres, *Lecciones de historia del derecho español,* II (2d ed., Salamanca, 1936), 104 ff. For a different view see Smith, pp. 95 f.

[33] Julius Ficker, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Zweiter Ergänzungsband* (1888), pp. 455 ff.; Eduardo de Hinojosa, SZ, Germ. Abt., 31 (1910), 282 ff., with a list of those who agree. That list may now easily be enlarged. See, however, the qualifications suggested by Beyerle, SZ, Germ. Abt., 51 (1931), 556 f.

[34] See above, n. 1.

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sistency and organization to the slightly younger Burgundian Code, which, moreover, borrowed from the *Euricianus*.

Euric's reception of Roman law was, consequently, neither wholesale nor indiscriminate. A comprehensive study which, it is hoped, will be published later would suggest, rather, the following conclusions. There were instances in which a device of Roman private law was adopted in its entirety. But such a full-fledged reception was a rare occurrence: it happened, as a rule, solely where the Goths were, on their own account, tending in the same direction or had not yet arrived at a clear picture of the problem. The vast majority of provisions followed a different course. Either Roman law was rejected altogether, or it was accepted in part, namely, subject to un-Roman qualifications or mixed with Gothic custom in a great many varieties. Not infrequently a parallel popular conception formed the basis of both Roman vulgar law and Gothic regulations. It even occurred that the adopted rule came from the Roman law only because Germanic thought, in turn, had previously penetrated into an imperial decree. So manifold and entangled were the elements of that reception. But its very complexity seems adequately to reflect the distinctive feature of the whole age: a gradual blending of the two cultures, the Roman and the Germanic.

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The Balkan Federation Movement
A Neglected Aspect[1]

THE Balkan federation movement has usually been described in terms of diplomatic negotiations, international conferences, and short-lived ententes and leagues.[2] This mode of treatment fails to take into account an aspect of the movement which has become increasingly significant—namely, its relation to the Balkan labor and agrarian parties. Since the beginning of this century these parties have adopted and consistently championed the principle of Balkan federation. They have given to the federation movement a strength and mass basis which it previously lacked. They constituted the sole organized and effective force in favor of federation during the stormy years between the Balkan League of 1912 and the Balkan Conferences of the 1930's. And their position in the federation movement seems likely to assume even greater significance as this second World War draws to a close.

A few pioneer Balkan socialists, such as Khristo Botev in Bulgaria and Svetozar Markovich in Serbia, preached the unity of the Balkan peoples as early as the 1870's.[3] At that time, however, the industrial backwardness of the peninsula was such that it was impossible to build up a powerful socialist movement which could influence appreciably the course of events. By the first decade of the twentieth century the situation had changed. The Balkan socialist parties still could not be compared to the working-class organizations in western Europe, but considerable advance had been made. In each of the Balkan countries socialist organizations had been developed and affiliations established with the Second International, while in Bulgaria and Serbia socialist deputies sat in the national assemblies.[4] On January 7-9, 1910, the

[1] This article is based on material from a full-length study on the Balkan federation movement. The author is indebted to Dr. Manfred Kridl, of Smith College, and Dr. Victor Sharenkoff, of the New York Public Library, for generous aid in the translation of Slavic material.

[2] R. J. Kerner and H. M. Howard, *The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente, 1930-1935* (Berkeley, 1936); T. I. Geshkoff, *Balkan Union: A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe* (New York, 1940); N. J. Padelford, *Peace in the Balkans* (New York, 1935); A. P. Papanastassiou, *Vers l'union balkanique* (Paris, 1934); D. Michev and B. P. Petkov, *La fédération balkanique* (Sofia, 1930).

[3] Kh. Botev, *Suchineniya* [*Works*] (Sofia, 1927), pp. 152, 208; L. Barbar, "The Early History of the Balkan League", *International Review*, I (1915), 255-63; G. Bakaloff, "Notre héritage révolutionnaire", *La fédération balkanique*, No. 146 (Dec., 1931), p. 11; H. Wendel, *Aus dem südslawischen Risorgimento* (Gotha, 1921), pp. 137-65.

[4] A general survey of the pre-1914 Balkan socialist movement in relation to Balkan federation is given in Kh. Kabakchiyev, *Kum Balkanskata Federatziya* [*Towards Balkan Federation*]

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first Balkan Socialist Conference was held in Belgrade, and the resolutions which were adopted called primarily for antiwar action and Balkan unity.

> Social democracy, acting as the representative of the working class, which is not divided by the antagonism dividing the governing classes, has undertaken the important mission of constituting itself the most conscious, energetic and consistent champion of the idea of the solidarity of the nations of south-eastern Europe, and, by the struggle of the proletarian class, of strengthening the force of the resistance of the people against the policy of conquest of European capitalism.[5]

The events of the next few years fully proved that these resolutions were taken seriously by their framers. On September 26, 1911, the Tripolitan War began. The International Socialist Bureau was at that time in session at Zurich, and it immediately issued a manifesto calling on the workingmen of all countries to oppose the war. The manifesto also urged the Turkish government to take to heart the lesson of current events and to satisfy the aspirations of its national groups and of the working classes. This, it was argued, "will contribute efficaciously to the reconciliation of the Balkan nations while waiting for their closer union in a federative organism".[6] In addition to this manifesto, a preliminary Balkan Socialist Conference met in Belgrade on October 18, 1911. It was decided that the Balkan socialist parties should hold antiwar mass meetings throughout the peninsula on October 23 with the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon the various governments and gaining popular support for the socialist program—that is, the democratization of the Balkan states and the formation of a Balkan federation including Turkey. These plans were fulfilled to the letter. Meetings were organized and demonstrations staged throughout the Balkans, including the Habsburg Slavic areas. Typical was the meeting at Salonika, where a crowd of eight thousand heard local and foreign orators speak in Turkish, Bulgarian, Spanish, and French. One of the resolutions passed at this gathering proclaimed that "the Ottoman proletariat is united in agreement with the universal proletariat to fight against war in general" and that "only a Balkan federation will enable

(Sofia, 1914). See also T. Tchitchovsky, *The Socialist Movement in Bulgaria* (London, 1931), pp. 9-21; D. Lapchevich, *Istoriya Sotzializma u Srbyi* [*History of Socialism in Serbia*] (Belgrade, 1922), pp. 21 ff.; G. K. Kordatos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἐργατικοῦ Κινήματος [*History of the Greek Working-Class Movement*] (2 vols., Athens, 1931-32); G. L. Jaray, "Le socialisme en Roumanie", *Le mouvement socialiste,* XXI (May, 1907), 421-37.

[5] Text of the resolutions in *Bulletin périodique du bureau socialiste internationale,* No. 2 (1910), pp. 64-66. (Hereafter referred to as *B.S.I.*) A similar resolution in favor of radical democratic reforms within the Balkan states (including Turkey) and a peaceful entente of the Balkan peoples was adopted by the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen. Text in *B.S.I.,* No. 5 (1910), p. 177.

[6] The manifesto continued as follows: "The nations of southeastern Europe possess all the cultural conditions for autonomous development. They are related economically. They should be related politically. Socialism will therefore uphold with all its influence the idea of the solidarity of the Balkan nations". Text in *B.S.I.,* No. 8 (1912), pp. 112, 113.

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the nations of the Balkans to ensure their total development of culture and political independence".[7]

All this activity on the part of the Balkan socialists did not appreciably influence the course of events, but it did demonstrate their readiness to act on behalf of peace and of Balkan federation. This was more strikingly shown in the next two years during the course of the Balkan Wars. The first Balkan War began on October 18, 1912. On October 29 the International Socialist Bureau issued a resolution condemning the war and declaring that the solution of the Balkan problem lay rather "in progressive democratization and in close union of all the Balkan states, including Turkey".[8] In the following month an extraordinary International Congress was held at Basel, and instructions were issued to the socialist parties of the various European countries regarding the war. The parties of Austria-Hungary and Russia were especially warned to guard against the intervention of their governments in Balkan affairs, while the Balkan parties were instructed to combat the war, oppose the renewal of old rivalries between the allies, prevent the oppression of Turkish and Albanian minorities, and strive for the fraternity of all the Balkan races, including the Albanians and Turks.[9]

The Balkan socialists, however, had no need for such guidance. Several weeks before the actual outbreak of the war they had foreseen the danger and begun an antiwar campaign. In all the Balkan countries, with the exception of Greece,[10] the socialists organized mass meetings, denounced the war in their newspapers, and distributed thousands of propaganda leaflets. The socialist deputies in the Serbian Skupshtina and Bulgarian Sobranje courageously spoke against their governments' policies and voted against war credits.[11] The Bulgarian deputy, Yanko Sakŭzov, for example, stated that the war would solve no problems and added:

> We do not want a Balkan Confederation created as a result of the war. What we want, what we are preparing is a Confederation uniting in fact all of the Balkan nations, including Turkey, for a work of peace, of labor, of production

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 46. For the texts of the resolutions passed at other meetings see *ibid.*, pp. 25, 45-49.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 9 (1912), p. 3; *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, VI (1916), 391, 392.

[9] Text in *B.S.I.*, No. 10 (1913), pp. 9-12; *Arch. f. Gesch. Sozialismus u. Arbeiterbewegung*, VI, 393-97; W. E. Walling, *The Socialists and the War: A Documentary Statement of the Position of the Socialists of All Countries, with Special Reference to their Peace Policy* (New York, 1915), pp. 99-104.

[10] In Greece the socialists were relatively uninfluential because of internal dissensions and because of the great popularity of Venizelos, who had won the support of the working classes by passing various social reform bills. Thus no delegates were sent to the 1910 and 1911 Balkan Socialist Conferences, and similarly during the Balkan Wars the Greek socialists remained quiet. See Kordatos, II, 62-64; *B.S.I.*, No. 8, pp. 72, 73.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 11 (1913), pp. 63-66, 77, 78.

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and exchange, a work of liberty and of progress. . . . Will you who are allied today, not turn against each other to-morrow as is already foretold in the press and diplomatic circles? [12]

On May 30, 1913, the Treaty of London ended the first Balkan War. A month later, on June 29, the second Balkan War broke out over the question of the division of the spoils. This war was opposed, no less than the first, by the Balkan socialists. Again meetings and demonstrations were organized and leaflets distributed. In Serbia, for example, the two socialist deputies continually reiterated a three-point program: peace, unconditional demobilization, and Balkan federation. "Without much consideration for the Agenda, whether it was a question of minting, or of railway workers, or of new communications by rail, the budget, credits, etc., our deputies always addressed the house and commenced and terminated their subjects by the three demands above mentioned." [13] Nor did the Serbian successes in the second Balkan War affect the stand of the party. "If peace is signed at Bucharest, in our opinion this peace will be only nominal. If class relations are not created, i.e. if the Federation of the Balkan republics is not realized, we shall see further struggles, for all the dynasties and all the bureaucratic capitalist and militarist cliques desire hegemony". [14]

Although this agitation did not succeed in preventing war, it did lead to increasing popular support for the socialist position. On May Day, 1913, the Serbian socialist party received messages of congratulation bearing thousands of signatures from all the divisions of the army. In May, 1914, the party congress was held in Belgrade, and the Bulgarian socialist, Sakŭzov, who was present, was given a great ovation. The usual resolutions were passed in favor of internal reform and Balkan federation. After the congress was ended, an imposing demonstration took place in the streets of Belgrade in favor of union between Bulgaria and Serbia. In the same year elections were held, and the socialist party, despite its republicanism and extreme antiwar stand, received 20 per cent more votes than in the 1912 elections—that is, an increase from 25,000 to 30,000. [15] In Bulgaria the socialists experienced a phenomenal increase in strength. When the Balkan Wars began they had only one seat in the Sobranje, but in the elections of December, 1913, they gained thirty-seven seats. Whereas in the 1911 elections they received about 25,000 votes, in 1913 the figure jumped to 107,000. Moreover, the socialist program had not been

[12] *Ibid.*, No. 9, 2d supplement (1912), pp. 7-11; No. 10, p. 49. For the speeches of the Serbian deputy, Lapchevich, see *ibid.*, No. 9, pp. 25-27.
[13] *Ibid.*, No. 11, pp. 69, 70.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-76.

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altered in the slightest, so that the 107,000 voters had, in effect, cast their ballots in favor of a republican Bulgaria and a Balkan federation.[16] Probably the two costly wars had led many of the voters to select the socialist ticket because of their war-weariness rather than any enthusiasm for a Balkan federation. Nevertheless, by 1914, when the Balkan states were hopelessly divided and feverishly preparing for still more war, the socialist parties had become the most powerful and consistent force in the Balkan federation movement.

During the first World War the socialist movement was disrupted in the Balkans, as in the rest of Europe. Antiwar resolutions had been passed at the various prewar congresses of the Second International, but when war did come, the socialists split into three main groups: the "right" socialists, who supported their respective governments in their war efforts; the "left" socialists, who demanded that the war should be immediately transformed into a class war; and the "centre" socialists, who refused to support their governments but also refused to embark on class war.[17] In the Balkans the socialist parties were divided by this factionalism, and in addition they were fiercely persecuted by their governments and, in some cases, obliged to flee before foreign armies of occupation. They did succeed, however, in convening a second Balkan Socialist Conference at Bucharest in July, 1915. Representatives of the Greek, Bulgarian, Rumanian, and Serbian parties were present; after much discussion, antiwar resolutions were passed, and a manifesto was issued attacking the Great Powers and the existing Balkan regimes and calling for a Balkan republican federation.

> The conquest and the partition of the Balkan Peninsula and Turkey are, together with the struggle for world trade, the most important aims in the present imperialist war. Never before has the peril of the policy of conquest of the Great Powers appeared so imminent and so clear. . . . The ruling classes and the Balkan dynasties rule, under a regime of persecution and oppression, the subjugated peoples of Macedonia, Dobrudja, and Thrace, and this regime provides overwhelming proof that their aim had never been the liberation of the peoples and the integrity of the Balkan countries, but rather the conquest of new territories. . . . The Balkan proletariat sound the alarm for the working class and popular masses of the Balkan countries to take upon themselves the defense of the independence of the Balkan Peninsula. It is their duty and to their interest to fight for the realization of the Balkan republican federation. The Balkan Wars as well as the World War prove that only an independent union of the Balkan peoples, freed

[16] Kabakchiyev, B. Boshkovich, and Kh. D. Vatis, *Kommunisticheskiye Partii Balkanskikh Stran* [*Communist Parties of the Balkan Peninsula*] (Moscow, 1930), pp. 73-75 (hereafter referred to as *Kommunisticheskiye Partii*); Walling, pp. 108-10; C. G. Logio, *Bulgaria: Problems and Politics* (London, 1919), pp. 98-105.

[17] M. Fainsod, *International Socialism and the World War* (Cambridge, 1935); A. Van Der Slice, *International Labor, Diplomacy, and Peace, 1914-1919* (Philadelphia, 1941).

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from the tutelage of any Great Power whatsoever, will be able to assure their liberty and their integrity.[18]

This strong antiwar position by no means reflected the sentiments of all the Balkan socialists. They were all agreed that the ultimate solution lay in reform and federation as proposed in the manifesto, but, like their comrades in the rest of Europe, they disagreed sharply on the war issue. In Bulgaria the so-called "broad" socialists led by Sakŭzov supported Ferdinand's policies and accepted important official positions. In contrast, the "narrow" socialists led by Dimitŭr Blagoev exerted every effort, both in the Sobranje and throughout the country, to prevent Bulgarian intervention in the war. Immediately after the declaration of war these socialists issued a manifesto denouncing the "treachery" of the "Bulgarian bourgeoisie and monarchy" and calling for "uncompromising class war" and a "Balkan federative republic" as the only means of escaping the horrors of war. "Across the frontiers we stretch fraternal hands to the workers of Greece, Serbia, Rumania, and Turkey."[19]

In Greece the situation was essentially the same, although much more confused because of the tendency to emphasize personalities rather than issues. Most of the labor leaders in Athens supported Premier Venizelos in his pro-Entente policy, while in Salonika the more leftist Labor Federation adopted a strong antiwar stand and denounced the nationalist ambitions of all the Balkan governments.[20] In Rumania and Serbia the socialist parties were less divided. They denounced the war as imperialist and demanded a federation of free Balkan peoples, but in both countries the socialist agitation was cut short by foreign invasion and occupation.[21]

[18] Kordatos, II, 154-57; *La fédération balkanique*, Mar. 1, 1927.

[19] On December 15, 1915, when war credits were being voted in the Sobranje, Blagoev stated in the name of his party: "We remain uncompromising opponents of a war which was forced on the Bulgarian people we demand the immediate cessation of bloodshed and the conclusion of peace. Social Democracy, acknowledging the right of all nations to self-determination and self-government, energetically protests against annexation of foreign lands and against the annihilation and enslavement of Serbia. The party has believed that the unification of the Bulgarian nation was possible only through a Balkan federative republic consisting of all the Balkan countries as autonomous members. . . . In consequence of the above we vote against the war credit of five hundred million levas." Cited in *Kommunisticheskiye Partii*, pp. 77, 78. See also *American Labor Year Book*, 1916 (New York), pp. 169, 170; 1917-18, pp. 235, 236; Fainsod, p. 37.

[20] P. E. Drakoules, "Greece, the Balkans, and the Federal Principle", *Asiatic Review*, VI (Feb. 15, 1915), 113-33; A. D. Sideris, "The Macedonian Question", *New Europe*, VI (Apr. 11, 1918), 396-401; A. D. Sideris, A. Couriel, and P. Dimitratos, *La question d'Orient* (Paris, 1918); *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, p. 193.

[21] On the Rumanian socialists see Kh. Rakovski, "Transylvania and Macedonia", *New Europe*, VI (Mar. 7, 1918), 254-56; Walling, pp. 210, 211, 400, 401; *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, pp. 207, 208. On the Serbian socialists see C. Grünberg, *Die Internationale und der Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 210-13; *Kommunisticheskiye Partii*, pp. 136-39; *American Labor Year Book*, 1919-20, p. 386; "A Southern Slav Socialist Manifesto", *New Europe*, V (Dec. 13, 1917), 281-84.

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With the cessation of hostilities at the end of 1918 the socialist movement quickly revived and within a few months experienced a tremendous growth. Equally spectacular was the increase in the strength of the agrarian parties representing the peasant masses. The disintegration of the Habsburg Empire, the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the establishment of a Soviet regime in Hungary, and the destruction and suffering resulting from the war—all combined to produce this great revolutionary upsurge. At the outset the labor and agrarian parties appeared to be of equal strength, but within a few years the latter had gained the upper hand. This was due to a number of reasons. The most obvious was the numerical superiority of the peasants over the city proletariat, although this factor can be overemphasized, as the communist parties attracted considerable support amongst the poor peasantry. Another reason is to be found in the fact that the Balkan governments persecuted with particular severity the labor movement, and especially the revolutionary communist parties.[22] The latter were also handicapped by their tendency to emphasize class war to the extent of almost ignoring the all-important nationality problem. Thus in a country such as Yugoslavia, where the Pan-Serb policies of the centralist Belgrade government were so hated, the agrarian leader, Stefan Radich, was able to win the allegiance of the great majority of the Croatians by demanding autonomy as well as social reform.[23] Finally, the labor movement in general was seriously weakened by the bitter feud between the communist and socialist parties in all the Balkan countries.

This schism in the labor ranks was precipitated by the formation of the Third International and involved basic differences in strategy and aims. For example, the Socialist International at its Lucerne Congress, August 1-9, 1919, passed a resolution "in favor of a rapprochement among the Balkan peoples and their union in a federation of independent States". It recommended in addition the holding of plebiscites under neutral control in order to determine the frontiers of the federated states. Finally, it expressed the hope that "these countries may live in concord and liberty and devote their strength in the future to Socialism".[24] In contrast, the Balkan Communist Federation

[22] The nature of the White Terror in the Balkans has been eloquently described by Henri Barbusse, who made a tour of the Balkans in 1925 and summarized his findings in *Les bourreaux* (Paris, 1926).

[23] The communist leaders realized this flaw in their tactics and admitted that their failure "indicates that the Communist Party failed to estimate at its true worth the national factor in the struggle of the toiling masses". Accordingly they have studied and discussed at great length the problem of nationalities in the Balkans. See V. Kolarov, "The National Question in the Balkans", *Communist International*, No. 4 (July-Aug., 1924), pp. 78-98. This periodical was issued irregularly, and in place of grouping the issues by volume, they were simply numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and at some quite arbitrary point they would go back to 1.

[24] *The International at Lucerne, 1919: The Resolutions, the Provisional Constitution* (London, 1919), p. 12. A summary of this resolution was also published in the New York *Times*, Aug. 11, 1919.

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Conference held in Sofia in January, 1920, passed the following resolution: "nothing but the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with its organisation of the Workers', Peasants' and Red Army deputies, will liberate the Balkan nations from all oppression and will afford them a possibility of self-determination uniting them all into one Balkan Socialist Soviet Republic".[25] A comparison of these two programs reveals the fundamental difference between the socialist and communist positions. Both parties call for a Balkan federation, but the one speaks vaguely of "rapprochement among the Balkan peoples and their union in a federation of independent States", while the other specifies a "Balkan Socialist Soviet Republic" established by means of "proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat". As might be expected, in view of these differences and in view of the fact that both sought to gain the support of the same general class, the two parties remained bitter rivals throughout the postwar period.[26]

Such was the background of the great revolutionary upheaval which convulsed the Balkan Peninsula in the immediate postwar years. As in the prewar period, so now this radical movement was much stronger and better organized in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia than in Greece or Rumania. In fact, in Bulgaria the agrarian union or party was in power between 1919 and 1923. This party was formed in 1900 by Dimitŭr Dragiev, and its platform called for curtailment of the growing powers of the crown, economy and retrenchment in administration, the disbanding of the regular army in favor of a militia, and the cessation of Ferdinand's imperialist policies. Accordingly the party strongly opposed the Balkan Wars, and numerous articles were published in its organ, *Zemledlsko Zname* [*Agrarian Banner*], criticizing Ferdinand's regime. Especially prominent in this antiwar campaign was Aleksandŭr Stamboliĭski, who had joined the party in 1902 and quickly became one of its prominent leaders. When the World War broke out, the agrarians strenuously opposed intervention. Stamboliĭski even went to the extent of bluntly warning Ferdinand that intervention would cost him his throne. For his rashness Stamboliĭski was arrested, tried by court-martial, and condemned

[25] Text in *Communist International,* Nos. 11-12 (June-July, 1920), pp. 2455-60. By a Balkan "Socialist Soviet Republic" the communists had in mind a federated republic, as is evident in the numerous manifestoes and articles which they published. See *Kommunisticheskiye Partii,* p. 215; "Events in the Balkans and Prospects of a Workers' and Peasants' Revolution", *Communist International,* No. 10 (Apr., 1925), p. 83. For details regarding later conferences of the Balkan Communist Federation see *Kommunisticheskiye Partii,* pp. 8-27, 205-22; and the authoritative articles by G. Dimitrov, present head of the Communist International, in *International Press Correspondence,* Aug. 7, 1924, and in the *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entziklopediya* [*Grand Soviet Encyclopedia*], under the heading, "Balkan Communist Federation".

[26] A typical socialist denunciation of communism is to be found in the article by Z. Topalovič, "Ten Years' Communism in the Balkans", *Living Age,* CCCXXXIV (Jan. 1, 1928), 28-32. On the other side, the *Fédération balkanique* regularly attacked socialist policies in the Balkans. For example, see the issues of July 1, 1925, and August 1, 1925.

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to penal servitude for life. Within three years he was free and vindicated. In September, 1918, the Bulgarian lines were broken by the Allied offensive, and Stamboliĭski was released and sent to the front in the hope that he could calm the mutinous troops. Instead he rallied the soldiers behind him, marched on Sofia, and compelled Ferdinand to abdicate on October 3 in favor of his son Boris. In January, 1919, Stamboliĭski entered the cabinet, and by October of the same year he was prime minister.[27]

In the meantime the communist and socialist parties, particularly the former, had been gaining rapidly in strength. In the 1919 elections, out of a total of 236 seats, the communists won 47 and the socialists 39. The trial of strength came in December of the same year, when a strike of railway employees paralyzed transportation and threatened to lead to revolution. With the aid of Allied troops Stamboliĭski broke the strike after much violence and then proceeded to arrest the communist leaders and to call for a new election in March, 1920, with the aim of overwhelming the communists and gaining a clear majority. Despite government terrorism 48 communists were returned to the Sobranje, but the agrarians were able to gain 113 seats at the expense of the socialists, who retained only 9 seats. With this victory Stamboliĭski became complete master and remained in power until 1923.[28]

The significance of this situation lies in the fact that two parties favoring Balkan federation now had the support of a large majority of the Bulgarian people. In the March, 1920, elections the agrarians and communists won 68 per cent of the seats (161 out of 236),[29] and in the municipal elections of October, 1920, these two parties polled over 80 per cent of the total votes cast (82,089 out of 100,811).[30] Furthermore, it should be noted that for the agrarians and communists, Balkan unity was not a pleasant sentiment to be voiced on state occasions. It was an integral part of their program, and they had consistently advocated it for decades and continued to do so now. The communist party at its June, 1919, congress drew up a program which called for the establishment of a socialist, soviet Bulgaria and for the conclusion of "a friendly alliance with the neighboring peoples in order to create a Balkan

[27] A. Stamboliĭski, *Dvete mi Sreshti s Tzar Ferdinand* [*My Two Meetings with Tzar Ferdinand*] (Sofia, 1915); *Galeriya Ubiti Durzhavni Muzhe* [*Gallery of Assassinated Statesmen*] (Pleven, 1927), Nos. 4, 5, pp. 58-65; D. Strashimrov, *Zemledelskiya Sŭyuz* [*The Agrarian Union*] (Sofia, 1914), pp. 59, 125, 131, 132.

[28] *Kommunisticheskiye Partii*, pp. 89-95; P. Kiranov, *Bŭlgarskoto Zemledelsko Dvizhenie* [*The Bulgarian Agrarian Movement*] (Sofia, 1927); "Alexander Stambolisky", *Slavonic Review*, II (Dec., 1923), 407-11.

[29] New York *Times*, May 2, 1920. The figures for the various parties were: agrarians, 113; communists, 48; democrats, 34; nationalists, 15; socialists, 7; progressives, 7; radicals, 6; liberals, 3; Ghenadievists, 3.

[30] New York *Times*, Nov. 28, 1920. The figures given out by the minister of interior are: agrarians, 52,097; communists, 29,992; democrats, 7,321; people's party, 4,156; liberals, 3,195; socialists, 2,711; Tsankov party, 1,339.

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Socialist Federated Soviet republic which will be a part of the European and World Socialist Federated Soviet Republic which will realise a union between all the nations and a lasting peace".[31] Even more important at this time was the pro-federation stand of the agrarian government in power. In innumerable speeches Stamboliĭski repeatedly urged rapprochement with Serbia and the unification of all the South Slavs into one great federated state. He also proposed, less frequently and as a more distant goal, a federation of all the Balkan countries. In addition, as the peasant leader of a peasant party, Stamboliĭski hoped to unite all the European agrarian parties into a "Green International" which could cope with both communism on the left and reaction on the right.[32]

Throughout his career Stamboliĭski took advantage of every opportunity to further inter-Balkan unity. At the time of the Austrian attack on Serbia in 1914 he stated in the Sobranje: "I hope that our brothers, the Serbs, will be victorious over the Austrians." With memories of recent wars still fresh, the majority shouted, "Traitor! You are a Serb!" "No, I am neither a Serb nor a Bulgarian", replied Stamboliĭski, "I am a Yugoslav."[33] In the next year he was jailed for his opposition to Ferdinand's plans to intervene in the war and to attack Serbia. While in prison Stamboliĭski formulated the *Principles of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union* [*i.e.,* of the agrarian party], and the seventh article of these principles reads as follows: "The agrarian union favors durable and peaceful relations between Bulgaria and her neighbors. . . . It seeks to strengthen these good relations by uniting Bulgaria with the other Balkan states on a federative basis."[34] When he was at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, Stamboliĭski stated on a number of occasions that he had always worked for closer inter-Balkan relations, that he had been persecuted

[31] *Communist International,* No. 4 (Aug. 1, 1919), pp. 67-70; *ibid.,* No. 5 (Sept., 1919), pp. 54-57. Similarly, the socialist party at its conference held in Sofia on September 1-2, 1918, demanded Balkan rapprochement. See Logio, pp. 7, 8.

[32] Early in 1921 Stamboliĭski visited Prague, Warsaw, and Bucharest, and these capitals, fearful of the communist danger, pledged support to his "Green International" scheme. On his return to Sofia a great Congress of the Agricultural League was held on February 15, and Stamboliĭski elaborated on the "Green International". With the support of the Polish, Czechoslovak, and Rumanian governments, this was to be an international union of the peasants of central and southeastern Europe, to offset the White International of the reactionaries, who wished to restore the monarchs and landlords, and also the Red International of the Bolsheviks, who were attempting to destroy all government and individual initiative. "I have no doubt", he added, "that our 'Green Internationale' will ultimately free Russia from the Soviets. At least, it is destined to free farmers elsewhere from the unjust restrictions placed upon them by the manufacturers and capitalists, who know nothing about farming, and make both realize that the farmer is just as necessary to the life of a country as the workers on the roads, in the factories, or employed in transportation." New York *Times,* Apr. 10, 1921.

[33] M. D. Stragnakovitch, *Oeuvre du rapprochement et de l'union des Serbes et des Bulgares dans le passé* (Paris, 1930), p. 26.

[34] N. Petkov, *Aleksandŭr Stamboliĭski, lichnest i idei* [*Aleksandŭr Stamboliĭski, Personality and Ideas*] (Sofia, 1930), pp. 183, 184.

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for his efforts, but, he added, "I am conscious that it is my imperative duty to raise my voice in favor of rapprochement among the Balkan states."[35] According to some sources, the Bulgarian delegates had actually been authorized to propose the establishment of a Yugoslav federation in which Macedonia would be included as an independent state.[36] It is known that the chief of the Bulgarian delegation, T. Theodorov, urged privately in a letter of September 2, 1919, that, in place of the mutilation of Bulgaria, a plebiscite be held "embracing all the populations delivered from the Turkish yoke since 1912". If that were not feasible, he proposed the creation of an independent Macedonian state.

> Let all the nations, big and small, freely use the ports of the new state thus constituted—Salonica, Cavalla, and Dedeagatch—and let this new state serve as a pledge for the future Balkan Confederation. . . . it will eliminate all the pretexts of rivalries and strife between the Balkan states and will facilitate the establishing of the future confederation.[37]

Although the Bulgarian offers at the Peace Conference were rejected, Stamboliïski persisted in his efforts for co-operation and unity. While passing through Ljubljana a few years later he told the editor of the *Slovenski Glas* that: "The great majority of the Bulgarian people are for union with Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, and for the formation of a great Yugoslav State."[38] In the Sobranje on a number of occasions he stated that Bulgaria was ready to join a Yugoslav federation. All this naturally aroused apprehension in Italy, where the prospect of a powerful, united Yugoslav state was viewed with distaste. Accordingly in April, 1920, the Italian minister to Sofia, Baron Aliotti, in a private interview with Stamboliïski, proposed an Italo-Bulgarian alliance directed against Yugoslavia. Stamboliïski flatly rejected both this proposal and a similar one a short while later by Baron Aliotti's successor, Count Aldrovandi. The offer was repeated once more during the Genoa Conference in 1922, but the same answer was received.[39]

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.

[36] H. G. Alsberg, "Union in the Balkans", *Nation,* CIX (Oct. 4, 1919), 463-64. The author states that since a Yugoslav federation was favored in practically all circles, he suggested at a meeting of agrarian leaders in Sofia that the Bulgarian delegation in Paris be instructed to make such a proposal. "To my astonishment I was told that Stamboliïski already had instructions in Paris to make such a proposal. The offer included a demand that Macedonia, which is neither Greek, Serbian, nor Bulgarian, be erected into a little state within the union. Thus the whole endless Macedonian question would be finally settled. Also the Thrace question would be solved. For unanimously I was assured that if Thrace and the Aegean coast were taken away from Bulgaria, and there were no federation, then another Balkan war was inevitable." See also C. Stephanove, "Drifting toward a Jugoslav Federation", *Current History,* XV (1922), 936, 937.

[37] "Peace in the Balkans: A Bulgarian Solution", *Nation,* CIX (Nov. 29, 1919), 699-702.

[38] Stephanove, *Current Hist.,* XV, 937.

[39] An account of these negotiations is given by Kosta Todoroff, at that time Bulgarian minister to Belgrade, in his article, "The Macedonian Organization Yesterday and Today", *Foreign Affairs,* VI (Apr., 1928), 478-82.

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In addition to refusing the Italian proposal, Stamboliĭski took concrete measures to effect a rapprochement with Yugoslavia. The great obstacle was the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. This body, which at the turn of the century reflected the aspirations of the Macedonian people and fought with their complete support against Turkish misrule, had now degenerated into a band of unprincipled adventurers. After the first Balkan War it ceased to be a truly Macedonian organization and became, in effect, an instrument of the Bulgarian government. During the World War it fought with the Bulgarian army and was given the administration of Serbian Macedonia, at which task it distinguished itself by its irresponsible violence and terrorism. The debacle of 1918 seemed to put an end to the organization because the great majority of the Macedonians and Bulgarians by this time had been alienated, and the Stamboliĭski government was strongly hostile. The harsh terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, however, gave the organization an opportunity to pose as the champion of national rights and justice. In addition it received money and other aid from Italy, which was anxious to keep Bulgaria and Serbia apart. Thus in 1920 the organization recommenced its raids against Yugoslavia. In an effort to check this activity the Bulgarian government on May 19, 1922, proposed to Belgrade the establishment of a joint frontier guard, to be composed of Bulgars and Serbs who should act in common against *komitaji* bands. Although nothing was done at the time, this suggestion did lead to discussions which culminated in the Treaty of Nish (April, 1923), providing for better supervision of the frontier. Henceforth the Bulgarian government took military measures to control the bands, and the number of raids declined considerably. Bulgar-Yugoslav relations improved correspondingly. The first step had been taken in the direction of the long-desired rapprochement with Yugoslavia.[40]

Not only were the Bulgarian people and government in favor of close relations with their neighbors and especially with the Yugoslavs, but very much the same sentiment prevailed at this time in Yugoslavia. The powerful agrarian and communist parties in Yugoslavia had precisely the same views on foreign policy as their counterparts in Bulgaria. In spite of the fact that Yugoslavia had emerged triumphant from the World War, mass unrest and political instability were practically as great as in Bulgaria. The chief reasons were the terrible destruction and suffering resulting from the war, the influence of the social upheavals in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Italy, and the unpopularity of the centralization policies of the Belgrade government. The latter factor was especially important, for it antagonized the recently

[40] J. Swire, *Bulgarian Conspiracy* (London, 1940), pp. 145-56; Todoroff, *For. Affairs,* VI, 479, 480. See also Todoroff's article in the New York *Times,* Aug. 12, 1928.

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acquired provinces and led to a political feud which lasted for two decades.[41]

One of the strongest of the federalist groups opposed to the centralization policies of Nicholas Pashich was the communist party. In accordance with the program of the Balkan Communist Federation, the Yugoslav communists took the stand that the economic problems as well as the oppression of national minorities could be solved not simply by federalization but by class war and revolution, which would lead to the establishment of a soviet state and of a communist Balkan federation. With this program the communists were able to win a majority in the municipal governments of such cities as Belgrade, Nish, and Zagreb. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly on November 28, 1921, they polled 200,000 votes and gained 58 seats out of a total of 419. Soon afterwards, however, the government passed a drastic law "for the defense of the state" which severely curtailed civil liberties, annulled the mandates of communist deputies, and outlawed the communist party. Thus the communists were driven underground and were unable to present any candidates in the succeeding elections held in March, 1923.[42]

An even more serious obstacle for the Belgrade centralists was the Croatian agrarian party, founded by Stefan Radich in 1905. Before the World War Radich was not concerned with Yugoslav or Balkan unity. He was interested mainly in economic and social reforms which would lighten the burden of the peasants and in establishing a triune system which would give Croatia a position of autonomy akin to that enjoyed by Austria and Hungary under the Habsburg monarchy.[43] With the collapse of the empire in 1918 a new

[41] D. Tomašić, "Constitutional Changes in Yugoslavia", *Political Science Quarterly,* LV (Dec., 1940), 584-87; C. A. Beard and G. Radin, *The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia* (New York, 1929), pp. 33-39; Z. S. Tomitch, *La formation de l'état yougoslave* (Paris, 1927), pp. 147-57; Stephanove, *Current Hist.,* XV, 930-34; C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and its Consequences, 1919-1937* (Oxford University Press, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1937), pp. 362 ff.

[42] Boshkovich, "Situation in Yugo-Slavia", *Communist International,* No. 8 (Feb., 1925), pp. 95-101; "The White Terror in Jugo-Slavia", *Labour Monthly,* I (Sept., 1921), 270-75; "Repression in the Jugoslav State", *Nation,* CXIII (Oct. 12, 1921), 403, 404. In view of their great strength during these years it seems strange that the communists offered little opposition to this persecution. The reasons seem to be internal dissension regarding policies and tactics and a tendency to place too much emphasis on class struggle and not enough on minority rights. Thus the national parties, like that of Radich, increased in strength at the expense of the communists. See Kolarov, *Communist International,* No. 4 (July-Aug., 1924), pp. 78-85; *Kommunisticheskiye Partii,* pp. 142 ff. The socialists, during this postwar period, were comparatively weak, as they themselves freely admitted. See Topalovič, *Living Age,* CCCXXXIV, 28-32. The socialists retained their prewar program in favor of a Balkan federation. The text of the resolutions which they adopted at their convention at Belgrade on April 15, 16, 1928, is given in the New York *Times,* May 20, 1928, and in *International Information,* V, No. 16, Apr. 28, 1928.

[43] In 1902 Radich proposed a plan by which a Danubian federation was to be substituted for the dual system of the Habsburg monarchy. The federation was to consist of Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, Croatia, and German Austria. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to receive full autonomy and to decide by vote whether or not they should unite with Croatia. The Slavs of the federation were to enjoy full cultural and spiritual relations with Russia, and Radich expressed the hope that the Czech language would be used by the three Slav states so that it might com-

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program was adopted to meet the needs of the changed situation. This program was practically identical with that of Stamboliĭski's agrarian party. It demanded distribution of land. It was opposed to the maintenance of a large army and to militarism in general. It was equally opposed to direct rule from Belgrade. Instead it demanded the creation of a federated Yugoslav state which would include as autonomous units not only Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and the other newly acquired provinces but also Bulgaria. After this federation had been realized, the agrarian leaders envisaged a federation of all the Balkan peoples, and even of all the races between the Baltic and Aegean Seas. On October 1, 1924, Radich expressed his views regarding Balkan federation as follows:

> The Balkan federation can be only peasant and republican. It cannot have any trace of Rumanian or Hungarian feudalism any more than it can be a copy of Russian bolshevism. At the outset and probably for a long time it will not include Rumania or Greece because it is really and formally limited to the four principal Yugoslav peoples, the Slovenes, the Croats, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians, and to Macedonia and Montenegro, and finally to Albania, all this, naturally, with their complete consent.[44]

With such views Radich was bound to come into conflict with the Belgrade government. On March 1, 1919, the Croatian peasant party adopted a program providing for an independent Croatia (with Slovenia) which would have no more than an irreducible minimum of "common affairs" with any other state. At the same time Radich organized a monster petition to the Peace Conference for a "neutral Croatian Peasants' Republic" with a Croatian Constituent Assembly of its own. The reply of the Belgrade authorities was simply to imprison Radich until the eve of the constituent elections of November 28, 1920. Fifty of the eighty Croatian seats were won by peasant party candidates, but their refusal to participate in the work of the assembly enabled Pashich to secure the adoption of a constitution of an extremely centralized character. Despite open terrorism the agrarian party continued to increase in strength, and in the elections of March, 1923, its representation in the Skupshtina jumped to seventy. Radich was now the acknowledged leader of the great majority of the Croatian people.[45]

pete with the German and Magyar languages. The capital of the federation was to be Vienna. A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1919), pp. 452, 453.

[44] *La fédération balkanique,* Oct. 1, 1924. See also Tomašić, "Peasants and Propaganda in Croatia", *Public Opinion Quarterly,* I (July, 1937), 68-74; L. Kezman, ed., *Constitution of the Neutral Peasant Republic of Croatia* (Pittsburgh, 1923); R. Herceg, *Die Ideologie der kroatischen Bauernbewegung* (Zagreb, 1923), pp. 48-59. An interesting account of the early years of Radich is given in "Autobiography of Stephen Radich", *Current Hist.,* XXIX (Oct., 1928), 82-102.

[45] A. Pavelich, *Aus dem Kampfe um den selbständigen Staat Kroatien* (Vienna, 1931), pp. 40-53; Herceg, pp. 60-68; "Autobiography of Stephen Radich", *Current Hist.,* XXIX, 103-106; Stephanove, *ibid.,* XV, 934-36.

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This marks the high point of the postwar mass movement for a Yugoslav federation and general Balkan co-operation. In Bulgaria the Stamboliĭski government was actively seeking a rapprochement and, if possible, a federation with Yugoslavia. With the other Balkan states it was anxious to establish close relations in the hope that in a more distant future a general Balkan federation might be established. The most powerful opposition party in Bulgaria, the communist, stood unequivocally for a Balkan Communist Federation, as did the Yugoslav communist party. In Croatia the dominant agrarian party held precisely the same views as the Bulgarian government. This was true also of the Montenegrin federalist party, which was supreme in Montenegro and maintained close relations with the Radich party. Similarly, the dominant Slovenian people's party, led by Dr. Koroshetz, favored a Yugoslav federation. An editorial of the Ljubljana *Novi Chas,* organ of Dr. Koroshetz, described the situation in the following prophetic words:

> The most salient question facing our State is that of our relations with Bulgaria, because the Bulgarians belong to the national unity of the Southern Slav States. Without Bulgaria we shall pursue only a great Chauvinistic policy, which sooner or later will lead us to isolation and catastrophe. That policy, espoused by the supporters of great Serbian dreams, is the real obstacle to the creation of a strong and united Jugoslavia. All Jugoslav people independent of the Belgrade politicians are thoroughly convinced that the security of our future existence as a State demands union with Bulgaria, all the more as the Bulgarian Nation today is fully prepared and qualified for it. We know that this question, left for solution to the Belgrade race alone, will never bring about our consolidation with the brave Bulgarian people. On that account the entire Slovene and Croatian people should inscribe this demand in its program, and should never rest until it has been realized. The future Jugoslavia of Serbs, Bulgarians, Croatians and Slovenes will be the strongest State in Southern Europe. It will prove a great guarantee for the cultural development of Southern Jugoslavdom, and one of the strong citadels for the world's peace.[46]

The accounts left by contemporary observers uniformly emphasize the popular and widespread demand for Yugoslav and, to a lesser extent, Balkan federation. An American journalist who in the autumn of 1919 interviewed Bulgarian and Yugoslav leaders of various parties, commented as follows after a conversation with the editor of the Sofia communist daily:

> His most significant statement referred to the insistence by his party that a Balkan federation be formed to avoid future wars. The statement proved significant and startling because it was repeated by practically all the leaders of the other parties. The union with Jugoslavia seems to be the one thing that all political factions are agreed upon. In Serbia, in a less insistent degree, I heard the same thing.[47]

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 937.
[47] Alsberg, *Nation,* CIX, 463, 464.

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Similarly, the English Balkan expert, Noel Buxton, reported in the autumn of 1921 that: "The party led by Radich—republican, Croatian and federalist—is rapidly growing in influence. Radich has proclaimed his desire to unite all the peasants of the Balkans in one state, and he especially invites the kindred branch of the Southern Slavs—'our Bulgarian brothers'." The Bulgarian agrarian party, he added, "is in sympathy with the Peasant Party in Croatia, which, if it comes into power, will bring Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria into close relationship".[48] Finally, in 1922 Professor Stephanove of Sofia University summarized the situation with the sentence, "Raditch-Stambolisky versus Pashitch-Davidovitch . . . united Jugoslavia versus Greater Serbia—these are the issues in the Balkan Slavdom of today."[49]

These issues were destined to be settled by assassination and suppression—by the assassination of Radich and Stamboliĭski and by the suppression of the federalist parties. In Bulgaria Stamboliĭski's rapprochement with Yugoslavia, his drastic reforms on behalf of the peasants, and his ruthless persecution of all opposition, whether from the right or the left, led to the formation of a strong coalition against him. The crown, the Macedonian Organization, the bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, army officers—all combined in a successful coup against the government on June 9, 1923. Five days later Stamboliĭski was assassinated. The communists, alienated by agrarian oppression during the previous three years and believing themselves strong enough to profit later from this turmoil, remained neutral. But so ferocious did the bourgeois reaction become that agrarians and communists co-operated in September, 1923, in a widespread revolt which was barely quelled after days of bloody fighting. The terror dragged on, reaching its bloody climax with the Sofia Cathedral bombing of April 14, 1925, and the subsequent mass execution.[50]

In the meantime a split had occurred in the ranks of the Macedonian Organization, and some of its members joined forces with the communists with the expressed purpose of working for a Balkan Confederation. The Macedonian Organization had taken part in the coup against Stamboliĭski because of the latter's willingness to recognize the *status quo* in Macedonia. Within a year, however, certain of the Macedonian leaders had come to the conclusion that the organization was being exploited for purely Bulgarian interests and that an entirely new policy was necessary. Accordingly it was decided to

[48] Noel Buxton, "The Balkans Today", *Nineteenth Century,* XC (Aug., 1921), 333-35.

[49] Stephanove, *Current Hist.,* XV, 937.

[50] A detailed account of these gruesome events is given in Swire, pp. 157-80. The tactics of the Bulgarian communists during this period, and especially their failure to support the agrarians, were severely criticized by the leaders of the Communist International. See *Communist International,* Nos. 26, 27 (Sept., Oct., 1923), pp. 70-109; No. 28 (Nov., 1923), pp. 65-117; Kolarov, "The Social Basis of the Tsankoff Government", in *ibid.,* No. 14 (Aug., 1925), pp. 13-30; *Kommunisticheskiye Partii,* pp. 96-109.

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strive henceforth for Macedonian autonomy rather than for annexation to Bulgaria and to seek an alliance with the communists, who likewise stood for autonomy. In the spring of 1924 negotiations were carried on in Vienna with representatives of the Third International. Who took part in these negotiations and what agreements were concluded are subjects of bitter dispute to the present day. The outcome, at any rate, was the publication on July 15 of the first issue of *La fédération balkanique,* a fortnightly periodical published in Vienna in all the Balkan languages as well as in German and French. In a spirited editorial the program of this publication was defined as follows:

> The principal task of our publication, as its title has already shown, is to propagate the idea of the liberation and the right of self-determination of the Balkan peoples as well as that of federalization. . . . We wish that they may cease to be the common prey of European imperialism and Balkan chauvinism; that they may cease to be the arena where the latter settle their disastrous internal quarrels. We wish to make it understood to all the citizens of the Balkan states that only union of our countries and our peoples in a federation will permit them to liberate themselves once and for all from political and economic servitude. [But, it added, these aims could not be gained by co-operation with the European or Balkan governments] . . . which already in their foreign and domestic policies have sufficiently demonstrated that they are against the liberty and self-determination of the peoples. . . .
>
> The liberty and peace of the Balkans, through the Balkan federation, will only be attained by movements for national liberation which will break, as soon as possible, the bonds which attach them to the European and Balkan governments; which will hasten to unite, under their flag, the working masses of their nation into a united national front; which will have aided and drawn upon their power for the social struggles of these same masses in neighboring countries; which, finally, will be eager to unite its forces into a single Balkan front directed against chauvinism and conquering imperialism from whatever quarter it may come.
>
> We want liberty and peace for our countries and our peoples!
>
> We know also that this liberty and this peace are not graciously granted but must be conquered by a desperate struggle!
>
> And we are beginning this struggle!

This first issue of *La fédération balkanique* also contained a declaration of policy signed on behalf of the Central Committee of the Macedonian Organization by T. Aleksandrov, A. Protogerov, and P. Chaulev. This statement was essentially the same as the previous one except that it naturally was concerned more specifically with the Macedonian question. It called for the liberation and unification of partitioned Macedonia. It favored the democratization of the Balkan states on the ground that the nature of their governments would determine the fate of Macedonia. In addition it urged a Balkan federation,

> . . . which alone can guarantee the political existence of an independent Macedonia and the independence of the rest of the Balkan peoples: satisfy the economic

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and cultural interests of the Balkan states united on the principle of free access to the three Balkan seas; paralyze the annexationist aspirations of the Balkan states and the imperialist tendencies of the European states as well as guarantee a just solution for all the national differences, favoring the cultural development of all the ethnic minorities.

Finally it was stated that the committee realized that "it can depend only upon the progressive and extreme revolutionary movements of Europe struggling against the imperialist policy of their governments, against the existing peace treaties, for the self-determination of their peoples and of foreign peoples".

The significance of this document lies in the fact that it represents an alliance between the Macedonian Organization and the Communist International. Communist policies were adopted insofar as a radical mass movement was to be organized to overthrow the existing regimes and to establish a Balkan federation. But no mention was made of soviet socialist republics. In fact Chaulev specifically stated in an interview at this time that the movement was not communistic—that it stood for "peasant proprietorship and democracy in the bourgeois sense".[51]

The publication of these documents naturally created a sensation and led to a series of extremely confusing charges, countercharges, and assassinations. First Aleksandrov and Protogerov denied that the Central Committee had issued the above statement and branded it as a forgery perpetrated by the communists in an attempt to exploit the prestige of the Macedonian Organization. This was indignantly denied by Chaulev and others who claimed to have been present when the Central Committee discussed the problem and agreed on the new policy. Then on August 31, 1924, Aleksandrov was assassinated, and immediately thereafter the assassins were themselves murdered. At the same time a wave of murders were committed, the victims being mostly federalists, as the supporters of the new policy were called to distinguish them from the pro-Bulgarian Macedonians known as supremists. The responsibility for this mass butchery has not been ascertained to the present day. As might be expected, the Bulgarian government and the centralists, on the one hand, and the communists and the federalists, on the other, immediately accused each other of responsibility for the crimes. The semiofficial Sofia journal, *La Bulgarie,* stated that the communists attempted to gain control of the Macedonian Organization in order to throw "the entire peninsula into the chaos of revolution", and that Aleksandrov was murdered because of his refusal to co-operate with them. The communists and federalists replied that the Bulgarian government and Mihailov, the supremist Macedonian leader, were alarmed by the new federation movement and doubted the sincerity of

[51] New York *Times,* Aug. 15, 1924.

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Aleksandrov's public repudiation of it. For that reason Aleksandrov and his followers were massacred, and then the assassins in turn were killed to make sure that they would not reveal who had given the orders.[52]

On whichever side the guilt may rest, the fact remains that *La fédération balkanique* had been launched, and for eight stormy years, between 1924 and 1931, it carried on a campaign along the lines indicated in its first issue. It denounced the Italian domination of Albania and Italian intrigue throughout the peninsula. It ceaselessly opposed the White Terror in Bulgaria, King Alexander's dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the reactionary regimes in the other Balkan countries, and the general oppression of national minorities. It strove to attract the attention of western Europe to the state of affairs existing in the Balkans and organized or stimulated various international organizations to furnish relief and to bring pressure to bear on the governments concerned. Finally, it constantly reiterated that the only solution for the sorry mess which it described to its readers was radical mass movements which would overthrow the prevailing regimes, establish "truly democratic" governments, and thus make possible the creation of a Balkan federation. In order to emphasize and publicize the federation idea, the editors drew up a questionnaire which read as follows:

1. Do you consider the present solution of the Macedonian question as conforming to the principles of justice and liberty, as well as to the interests of peace?
2. Do you believe that, under the present Balkan reaction, the rights of ethnic minorities are sufficiently respected and guaranteed?
3. What is, in your opinion, the means which will put an end to the oppression of ethnic minorities, on the one hand, and to the rivalries which set the Balkan states against each other, on the other hand?
4. Do you believe in the possibility of realizing a Balkan Federation through the present governments?
5. What do you think, in general, of a Federation of the Balkan peoples, and what are, in your opinion, the conditions under which it could be realized?[53]

Between 1926 and 1930 this questionnaire was sent to a large number of prominent individuals, and their replies were published in the paper. Over 150 persons responded, among them being statesmen such as Francesco Nitti, Stefan Radich, and Fan Noli; labor leaders such as James Maxton, George Lansbury, Edward Bernstein, Arthur Ponsonby, and G. Dumoulin; and scientists, writers, and academic people such as Albert Einstein, Auguste Forel, Henri Barbusse, Thomas Mann, Joseph Redlich, Jean-Richard Bloch,

[52] A bibliography on this subject is given in Swire, pp. 9, 10, 332-36.
[53] *La fédération balkanique*, Feb. 1, 1926.

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M. A. Aulard, and Charles Baudouin. All of them condemned the existing state of affairs in the Balkans, and practically all of them favored the creation of a federation and considered it possible of realization. There was a wide difference of opinion, however, as to how federation was to be attained. In general the communists and left-wing socialists stressed the need for preliminary revolution and fundamental social changes, while the moderate socialists and liberals depended more on peaceful means such as educational campaigns, use of the ballot, and co-operation with the League of Nations. Little can be deduced from the data available on this questionnaire, but it does indicate the existence of a widespread feeling amongst European liberals and radicals in favor of a Balkan federation.

La fédération balkanique continued to be published until April, 1931. It is difficult to estimate the extent of its influence during the seven years of its existence because no circulation figures are available. It can be said, however, that it did serve to bring to the attention of certain circles in western Europe the existence of pressing minority and social problems in the Balkans and the possibility of their solution by means of Balkan federation. As for the peninsula itself, the effect of the journal and of the movement it represented seems to have been one of radicalizing the Macedonian revolutionaries. When the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization failed to ally itself as a body with the communists, certain Macedonian leaders such as Vlahov and Chaulev formed a rival organization, the Imro United. This body adhered to the principles of the Declaration published on July 15, 1924, and co-operated closely with the communists in the publication of *La fédération balkanique* and in the carrying on of revolutionary activities within the peninsula. With the expiration of the journal, these Macedonian leaders continued to oppose actively the existing Balkan regimes and to strive for the creation of an autonomous Macedonia within a general Balkan Federation.

In the meantime in Yugoslavia the federalist parties had been suppressed and a royal dictatorship established, thus ending the possibility of a Yugoslav federation. Although the Croatian party had gained seventy seats in the 1923 elections, Radich found it necessary to seek refuge abroad during the next year. The Croatian deputies again refused to sit in the Skupshtina, but Radich now came to the conclusion that the only result of his party's abstention was to perpetuate Pashich in power. Accordingly the agrarians took their seats in 1924, and by March of that year Pashich was compelled to resign. During the following months government in Yugoslavia practically came to a standstill as ministry followed ministry. Finally King Alexander in 1925 dissolved the Skupshtina and imprisoned Radich on charges of high

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treason and conspiracy, and during the succeeding electoral campaign strong-arm tactics were used in an attempt to crush the opposition. Despite these measures the Croatian peasant party elected practically the same number of deputies as before. The communists now offered to form a united front with Radich along the same lines as their alliance with the Macedonian Organization in Bulgaria. Radich refused the proposal, and instead, although still in prison himself, he announced that the Croatian peasant party was ready to recognize the monarchy, the dynasty, and even the constitution of 1921. He apparently hoped by this sudden reversal of policy to gain concessions by parliamentary action. Radich was now released from prison, members of his party were given portfolios in the government, and in November, 1925, he entered the cabinet as minister of education. The reconciliation, however, was of brief duration. Radich was unable to work with his colleagues, and by April, 1926, the coalition was ended. During the next two years political turmoil again prevailed and reached a crisis when on June 20, 1928, during a bitter debate in the Skupshtina, a government supporter fired upon leaders and members of the Croatian peasant party, killing two and wounding several others. Among the latter was Radich himself, who died from the effects of his wound on August 8. The Croatian deputies thereupon withdrew from the Skupshtina and set up a rival body at Zagreb, where they passed resolutions refusing to recognize laws enacted by the "Rump" Skupshtina at Belgrade. Faced with this situation, King Alexander on January 5, 1929, abrogated the constitution of 1921, dissolved all political parties, and established a personal dictatorship in an effort to restore national unity. A so-called "constitution" was issued three years later, but actually the dictatorship remained in force, to a greater or less degree, until the eve of the German invasion twelve years later.[54]

In conclusion, the significance of these developments in the immediate postwar years is that for the first time the Balkan federation movement had secured a mass basis, at least in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Hitherto Balkan co-operation and federation had been the dream of isolated idealists and of powerless revolutionists, or the slogan of diplomats and statesmen who almost invariably were interested primarily in national aggrandizement. For the communists and socialists and agrarians, however, federation constituted a fundamental and integral part of their program and philosophy. This was inevitably so for the communists and socialists, who were traditionally anti-war, who thought in terms of international classes rather than national states, and who then foresaw an ultimate world socialist or communist federation.

[54] See Macartney, pp. 368-75, and the works therein cited.

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Similarly, the agrarians were equally antiwar and internationally minded and envisaged some sort of international peasant organization which would rid them of dynasties, bureaucracies, trusts, and the other symbols of agelong exploitation. Thus for these groups federation was all-important, for it was essential to the realization of their aims.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the agrarian, the socialist, and the communist conceptions of a Balkan federation were fundamentally different. The agrarian leaders had in mind a "Green International" which would liberate the peasants of eastern Europe, but they feared the urban workers and the revolutionary movements associated with them. Thus Stamboliĭski ruthlessly suppressed the communists in Bulgaria, while Radich refused to co-operate with the Yugoslav communists and carefully dissociated himself from the Third International. The socialists viewed Balkan federation as the final outcome of gradual rapprochement and co-operation amongst the existing regimes. Consequently they denounced the communists with their class-war doctrines as dangerous and irresponsible extremists. The communists, in turn, were of the opinion that a genuine Balkan federation could be established solely on a soviet, socialist basis and, therefore, could be realized only by revolution and the overthrow of the established governments. In their eyes the socialists were compromisers and betrayers of the working class, and the agrarians were impractical idealists whose peasant utopias were impossible of attainment.

It was this dissension which, more than any other factor, contributed to the defeat of the labor and agrarian mass movements and to the triumph of the more conservative forces in the Balkan Peninsula. Thus the possibility of federation from below was eliminated. Accordingly during the 1930's the federation movement changed in character. Its leaders during that decade were primarily liberal intellectuals who hoped to attain their ends by education, conferences, and governmental agreements rather than by radical social changes.

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Notes and Suggestions

Prince Gorchakov and the Black Sea Question, 1866
A Russian Bomb That Did Not Explode[1]

IN a small secret council in the summer palace of the Russian tsar in September, 1866, Prince Gorchakov proposed a diplomatic stroke which would have shaken all the chancelleries of Europe and might well have touched off a general war and initiated widespread changes in the map—had it been carried out. This action proposed by the Russian vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs at Tsarskoe Selo in 1866 was the open denunciation of the clauses of the treaty of Paris of 1856 neutralizing the Black Sea. The statements in the newly discovered memorandum printed below,[2] if taken at their face value and in conjunction with other sources, disclose that Gorchakov rather than Alexander II originated the method of action later used with success in 1870; that the idea was conceived and set to paper for the first time in September, 1866; that it was opposed by Grand Duke Constantine and the ministers of war and finances;[3] that the tsar bowed to the will of the majority but expressed his personal sympathy with Gorchakov's aims, if not with the method proposed or with the timing of the explosion; in short, that the statesman who has been accused by his enemies and by historians generally of being a mere phrasemaker and chancery-diplomatist preferred action to words in 1866 but was not supported by his sovereign.

No trace of this important episode appears in the authoritative work of

[1] This article is part of a projected two-volume work upon *International Politics and Opinion in the Period of Transition from French to German Hegemony, 1864 to 1871,* undertaken with assistance from the Guggenheim Foundation and the Oberlaender Trust. Reverend R. H. Lord and Mr. Robert B. Rockwood have made valuable suggestions.

[2] "Proposition du Prince Gortchakow quant à la révision du traité de 1856 examinée en Septembre 1866 sous la présidence de S. M. l'Empereur à Tsarskoé Sélo dans un comité composé de S. A. I. Mgr le Grand Duc Constantin, de Mr le Ministre de la Guerre et de celui des Finances et déclinée a l'unanimité par ces Messieurs, comme dangereuse dans les circonstances politiques du moment. Le Ministre des Finances a personnellement ajouté que toute agitation politique qui surgirait en ce moment serait funeste pour notre crédit. Le Prince Gortchakow a maintenu ses convictions et l'Empereur a daigné lui dire qu'll les partageaient [*sic*] personnellement. Toutefois en présence de l'unanimité des autres opposants, la proposition n'eut pas de suite. 16 Mai 1868 Gortchakow Remis par la chancellerie le 5/I 1907." This memorandum is written in a secretarial hand and signed by Gorchakov. It obviously enclosed, or was attached to, another document describing Gorchakov's proposed diplomatic action. Dictated twenty months after the event, it was presumably laid among the chancellor's private papers, whence it was returned in 1907 to the diplomatic files, according to the last phrase, which is written by another hand. Original in Arkhiv Revoliutsii i Vneshnei Politiki, Moscow, U.S.S.R. (henceforth cited R,ARVP).

[3] Grand Duke Constantin Nikolaievich was a brother of the tsar. The minister of war was Nikolai Miliutin. The minister of finances was Michael von Reutern (Mikhail Reitern).

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Goriainov,[4] in any other work, or in the secret documents of any other archives outside of Russia, so far as the writer has been able to determine. Yet the silence of the Russian authors is the more astonishing in view of the cardinal importance of the Black Sea question to every thinking Russian at that time, as at the present time and at all times since the eighteenth century.

The question was particularly pressing in the 1860's. From the moment when Alexander II and Gorchakov had accepted the treaty of Paris of 1856, which the disasters of the Crimean War had forced upon them, they had determined to seek its revision. To a great power like Russia it seemed very humiliating to be forbidden to maintain forts on her southern coasts or to build warships in her southern sea. A defeated nation could not expect for many years to overturn the treaty by force. The tsar and his chief minister therefore bent all their energies toward securing by diplomacy the revision of its two most irksome provisions: the return of the portion of Bessarabia ceded to Moldavia and especially the abrogation of the clauses relating to the Black Sea. Whenever a European congress was mooted, Gorchakov hastened to promote its meeting in the hope that by some diplomatic reshuffling he might secure these objectives.[5]

But no general congress actually met in the two decades after 1856, and from all lesser conferences of the powers Great Britain took pains to exclude in advance any discussion of the Black Sea question. At different times the French, the Austrians, and the Prussians had hinted that they would not oppose an alteration of the articles in Russia's favor. Nevertheless, in spite of the tsar's emotions and Gorchakov's efforts, it was not possible to secure the consummation of their burning desires until the Franco-German War of 1870 laid France low and isolated England. The bombshell, however, which the Russians finally hurled into a startled Europe in October, 1870—the denunciation of the Black Sea clauses of 1856—had been prepared by Gorchakov and all but ignited four years earlier, as is now evident, in September, 1866. The immediate circumstances bear closer investigation, for the action would have required a striking change in the general policies of the tsar and his chief minister at the time.[6]

The dominating event of the summer of 1866 was Bismarck's war against Austria. Both before and after its outbreak in June the tsar, to Bismarck's

[4] S. Goriainov, *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles* (Paris, 1910), has only the hint in Gorchakov's statement to his assistant, Jomini, in 1870, that the action had "long been meditated" (p. 161).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-48.

[6] The following account of Russia's diplomacy in the summer of 1866 is necessarily simplified. A more complete discussion will be found in an article upon "The Reaction of Europe to Prussian Expansion in 1866", to be published in the *Journal of Central European Affairs*.

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annoyance, constituted himself the upholder of the peace of Europe. Alexander and Gorchakov tried to arouse England and France to support the idea that treaties could not be modified without the consent of the European powers who had made them.[7] They referred specifically to the treaties of 1815, which, among other things, had set up the confederation of German sovereigns, some of whom were Alexander's relatives. In early July, 1866, that confederation was crumbling under the needle guns of Moltke's armies, and the tsar wished to trade his consent to the modification of these 1815 treaties for the consent of France, England, and Prussia to the modification of the Paris treaty of 1856.[8]

But the Russians failed to win the other powers to this trade. Their proposal for a congress, in late July, was universally rejected. England would not even protest against Bismarck's "usurpations" in Germany. Napoleon III hastened to make the best possible bargain with the victorious Prussians and assured Alexander's envoy that in no case would he use force against them.[9] Most significant of all to the Russians was the impunity with which Prince Charles of Hohenzollern had been able to disregard the will of the powers by accepting the call to the throne of Rumania, on Russia's very borders. Here indeed was a flagrant breach of the detested treaty of Paris itself, in the opinion of the tsar and his first minister. They determined at last to give up their legalistic international policy. "Russia is tired of the role of champion of Law", wrote Gorchakov, "a role which she has played up to the present without achieving anything but the hatred and suspicion of other nations."[10] The tsar, he told the French ambassador, would now adopt a "politique purement russe".[11]

Two international problems had arisen by the adroit exploitation of which Alexander and Prince Gorchakov hoped to arrive at their ends. For one thing, the Eastern question was forced upon the attention of Europe, and especially of Russia, by the outbreak of a rebellion on the part of the Greek population in Crete. The possibility was imminent that the Balkan nationalities might seize this opportunity to throw off the rule of the Turks. For Russia's own prestige she could not afford to let other powers take the initiative in the Near East.

At the same time another complication had developed in the west of

[7] Goriainov, p. 160.
[8] Gorchakov to Oubril, Russian minister in Berlin, telegram, July 21 [Aug. 2], 1866, R,ARVP.
[9] Repeated statements of Napoleon III to Baron Budberg, Russian ambassador in Paris, in July and August, 1866, R,ARVP.
[10] Extract from Russian circular, Aug. 16/28, *Origines diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1871*, XII (Paris, 1921), 210.
[11] Talleyrand to Drouyn, Aug. 14, *ibid.*, p. 104.

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Europe. Napoleon had sent to Berlin his bill for France's benevolent neutrality during Bismarck's war and for his services in arranging the peace with Austria and Italy. Bismarck had promptly rejected Napoleon's demands. In the ensuing impasse both the French creditor and the Prussian debtor angled for support in St. Petersburg. In a personal letter to the tsar, Napoleon had already expressed his desire for an entente with Alexander, and he had supplied his chargé in Russia with liberal hints that France might accord "advantages in the Near East".[12] A few days later Bismarck made more concrete offers to the Russians, directing their attention to Austrian Galicia as a fitting object of annexation and, more pertinently, to the lost portion of Bessarabia. Simultaneously, Bismarck hustled General Manteuffel off to St. Petersburg to bring these delicacies directly before the tsar himself. Almost as an afterthought, he proposed the abrogation of the Black Sea clauses for good measure.[13]

Secretly delighted, but with appropriate reserve, the tsar and his minister collected these offers from Paris and Berlin and waited to see what was going to happen in the Near East.[14] When a new and more violent outbreak flared up in Crete in early September, public opinion everywhere expected Russia to take immediate action. Pressed by the Greek government and by Ignatiev, the restless ambassador in Constantinople, Gorchakov planned a more vigorous campaign.[15]

So far as we can reconstruct it from scattered evidence, Gorchakov's plan was to initiate a wider discussion of the whole situation of the Christian populations in Turkey, perhaps to demand the return of Bessarabia in exchange for Russia's recognition of Prince Charles as ruler in Bucharest, and certainly to denounce the Black Sea clauses of the treaty of 1856. He drafted notes to the various powers, probably in the last week of September, and submitted them for Alexander's approval.[16] In sonorous and well-chosen phrases

[12] Napoleon III to Alexander II, letter, "Palais des Tuileries", July 16, 1866, R,ARVP; French overtures reported by Lefebvre de Béhaine, French chargé in Berlin (Oubril to Gorchakov, letter *très-secrète,* Berlin, July 18/30, 1866, R,ARVP).

[13] Oubril to Gorchakov, No. 261 *secrète,* Berlin, July 26/Aug. 7, 1866, R,ARVP; Gorchakov to Oubril, letter, Sept. 9 [21], 1866, R,ARVP. The Prussian sources for Manteuffel's mission are Heinrich von Sybel, *Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches* (Berlin, 1913), V, 284-86; Otto von Bismarck, *Die gesammelten Werke,* VI (Berlin, 1929), Nos. 543 and 571; H. Michaelis, ed., *Die auswärtige Politik Preussens,* VIII (Oldenburg, 1934), Nos. 3 and 5.

[14] On September 1 they cautiously sounded England and France on a joint pressure in Constantinople and received noncommittal replies (Gorchakov to Budberg, Aug. 20/Sept. 1, *Origines diplomatiques,* XII, 249-53; Frézals to La Valette, Sept. 10, *ibid.,* p. 279).

[15] For Greek policy: É. Driault and M. L'Héritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce* (Paris, 1925 ff.), III, 182-83. For Ignatiev's pressure: Alexander Onou, "The Memoirs of Count N. Ignatyev", *Slavonic Review,* X (1931), 392-93, and B. H. Sumner, "Ignatyev at Constantinople, 1864-1874", *ibid.,* XI (1932), 346-47.

[16] The exact date of these drafts is uncertain. The draft of the note destined to be sent to Vienna has a pencil notation, "Sept 1866". This draft is almost identical with the one sent to

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Gorchakov in these drafts expressed the Russians' determination no longer to be bound by the stipulations of 1856 relative to the Black Sea and their readiness to join the Concert of Europe in "giving to the questions which are agitating the East a solution in conformity with the general interests of peace and progress".[17]

Gorchakov could not have doubted that loud reverberations would ensue from the coup that he was preparing. But he must also have expected that so forceful an expression of Russia's will would rally to her side not only her friends but also the waverers among the powers and among the Balkan populations. It would have confused her opponents and increased Russia's relative diplomatic weight in the discussions he intended soon to open upon the Cretan situation and upon the whole Near Eastern question.

What chances of success would so startling an act have had in September, 1866? Gorchakov must have reasoned that from stricken Austria little but paper protests need be anticipated. Turkey and Italy would not count except as satellites for stronger opponents. The powerful aid of Prussia was assured by Bismarck's overtures. England would flare up but not fight without the aid of France. What would Napoleon do?

This was the crux of the matter. Napoleon's hints for an entente and his offer of concessions to Russia in the East implied an equivalent in return. What could Russia offer him? Gorchakov may well have checked off in his mind the following points: a renewal of Alexander's Stuttgart promise of 1857 not to join a coalition hostile to France; assent to French occupation of certain Belgian fortresses on France's northern borders; perhaps even a triple alliance, France-Russia-Prussia, in case England should fight for Belgian integrity.[18] The Russian vice-chancellor, relying upon the aid of the victorious Prussian army, must have expected that the French emperor, many of whose legions were still across the sea in Mexico, would accept the Black Sea coup with as good grace as possible and join the tsar and the king of Prussia in blocking Britain and Turkey. There would be much thundering from the latter quarters, but no war, he hoped, and Russia would have restored her "honor and prestige" as the discussions began on the Eastern question.

In point of fact, Gorchakov's fancy roamed even further, and he foresaw

Vienna finally in October, 1870 (printed in *Das Staatsarchiv*, XX [1871], 115-16), except for a few corrections and additions by Baron Jomini, changing "Mensdorff" [Austrian foreign minister in September, 1866] to "Beust" and adding events subsequent to 1866.

[17] Russian circular of Oct. 19/31, 1870 (drafted in 1866), printed in *Das Staatsarchiv*, XX, 116.

[18] F. Charles-Roux, *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff, et Napoléon III* (Paris, 1913), pp. 401, 408, 414; Gorchakov to Oubril, Aug. 3 [15], 1866, R,ARVP.

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as the result of a war the completion of German unification, Belgian union with France, Antwerp passing to Holland to appease Britain, Austria occupying Bosnia, Russia Bessarabia, and the Balkan Christians attaining independence from the sultan.[19] With a Bismarck in Berlin and a Michael Obrenovich in Belgrade, it needed only Alexander's initiative to redraw the map of Europe. A telescoping of the events of 1870, 1878, and later might well have been the consequence of this Russian bombshell of 1866.

But Gorchakov's vision was not destined to be realized so soon. The tsar, partly from "legitimate" scruples, partly from more practical considerations, resisted the lure of his minister's daring proposal and decided to build a stronger economic foundation and more strategic railways before risking war for the Black Sea. The aging vice-chancellor bore his defeat with good grace and met with silence the hostile criticism of Ignatiev and others for a policy of inaction, rather than defend himself at the expense of his master, who had made the final decision.[20] It was not a defeat for Gorchakov's general foreign policy, however, but only for his timing of the Black Sea coup. He could console himself with the assurance that he might stage it later in the midst of an anticipated Franco-German war.[21]

Three questions in connection with Gorchakov's abortive plan remain to be answered: What was the exact date of the secret council? Why did Goriainov fail to mention it? What light does the whole incident throw upon the coup of 1870?

The exact date of the council is difficult to determine from available evidence. That it met in September, 1866, Old Style, is not only attested by Gorchakov in his memorandum of nearly two years later but is also corrob-

[19] These eventualities were all currently discussed in the European chancelleries since May, 1866, when a general congress had been mooted. Gorchakov had thrown out the suggestion that Italy might purchase Bosnia and offer it to Austria in exchange for Venetia (Redern to Bismarck, telegram No. 53, May 21, 1866, Preussisches geheimes Staatsarchiv, Dahlem; less positive in Revertera to Beust, telegram, Dec. 9, 1866, and dispatch No. 22A, May 8, 1867, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, used also by George H. Rupp, *A Wavering Friendship: Russia and Austria, 1876-1878* [Cambridge, 1941], p. 26).

[20] Gorchakov revealed his feeling to his friend Oubril in a private letter which was not shown to the tsar: "Plus j'étudie la carte politique de l'Europe, plus je me convaincs qu'une entente sérieuse et intime avec la Prusse est la meilleure combinaison, pour la seule. Comme de raison, nous ne nous mettrons à la remorque de personne. Il suffit que notre travail intérieur et l'état de nos finances nous oblige à l'abstention, pour que nous n'ayons besoin de qui que ce soit. Pour ma part, je suis loin d'être pour cette abstention absolue. Je la trouve presque impossible, si la question d'Orient prenait un développement, mais je reste fidèle à un principe auquel je me résigne depuis douze années, celui de ne point compromettre nos intérêts dans l'intérieur par des combinaisons politiques bien qu'elles sauvegarderaient les traditions historiques de la Russie et même un peu la réputation du chef de Cabinet. C'est un acte d'abnégation dont on doit savoir gré à un caractère auquel la paix est inconnue et pour lequel les demi-mesures ne sont que des palliatifs à l'usage des petits et des faibles. Plus que jamais je me trouve aujourd'hui dans une de ces positions." Gorchakov to Oubril, letter, St. Petersburg, Sept. 29 [Oct. 11], 1866, R,ARVP.

[21] Gorchakov to Oubril, *confidentielle,* Nov. 5 [17], 1866, R,ARVP.

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orated by a pencil notation on one of his instructions of 1866.[22] But on what day in September? No clue is afforded by any known remarks of that astute diplomat. Vague hints are found in two of his instructions to Oubril[23] and in a memorandum of the finance minister. This last document, dated at Tsarskoe Selo on September 16, Old Style,[24] was probably drawn up for the discussion in that council. Presumably, therefore, *Gorchakov was preparing his coup* at the same time, that is, *in the days preceding September 28, 1866 (New Style).*

It may be asked why Gorchakov should have waited to bring up his proposed action until late September, when the general crisis of the war was terminated, the peace treaties signed, and the extreme French demands withdrawn. Would it not have been a far more favorable moment earlier, while Manteuffel was still in St. Petersburg?

This question calls for a detailed examination of the European situation in August and September, 1866, which the writer is making elsewhere. Suffice it to say here that the war and the peace came too quickly for Russia to exploit for her own purposes, unless she gained the assistance of France and England. By the time that the tsar and his chief minister had found such co-operation to be impossible, the peace had been practically completed. It was not easy to change their policy at once and to contemplate illegal and forcible isolated action. A policy of force was uncongenial to Alexander; it was contrary to all that he had been preaching to King William and Bismarck for several years. When Gorchakov finally tried to persuade the emperor to take so bold a step, the European prospects did not seem less favorable for action than a month earlier. The main consideration—the relative strength of friendly Prussia and possibly hostile France—had changed little by September. But in the meantime the urgency of the Near Eastern question and the pressure of public opinion upon the Russian government had increased, and Gorchakov lived in the Russian climate of opinion. The alternative facing Russia in September, therefore, even more than in August, was whether to take vigorous action or to parley. Gorchakov himself rejected a policy of half-measures as "suitable only for the small and the weak"[25] and suggested a policy of action. But the tsar decided to parley.

The answer to the question why Goriainov, author of the standard work

[22] See nn. 2 and 16 above.

[23] Sept. 9 [21] and Sept. 29 [Oct. 11], 1866, R,ARVP.

[24] Printed in W. Graf Reutern, *Die finanzielle Sanierung Russlands nach der Katastrophe des Krimkrieges, 1862, bis 1878, durch den Finanzminister Michael von Reutern* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 16-96.

[25] Gorchakov to Oubril, letter, St. Petersburg, Sept. 29 [Oct. 11], 1866 (see n. 20 above).

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and the director of the Russian diplomatic archives before the World War, failed to mention this important decision on Black Sea policy in 1866 is even less clear. The hypothesis that he might have wished to shield the tsar against Gorchakov is ruled out by the evidence he gives of impartiality toward both men in the rest of his book. One of the two documents which would have betrayed to him the date of 1866 instead of 1870, the Gorchakov memorandum, was probably not acquired by the archives until after his manuscript was completed.[26] The other revealing document, a draft-note to Vienna, lay in a packet which he seems not to have used. Unwittingly then, the chief specialist upon Black Sea diplomacy presumably overlooked the most important incident of that diplomacy between 1856 and 1870.

Finally, the facts adduced in this article shed new light upon the authorship of the coup of 1870 and upon the relative credibility of the two principal accounts of that action.[27] On the one hand, the new documents show that the stroke had been thought out and prepared in detail as early as September, 1866. Only in one particular, it would seem, was a change introduced later. In 1866 the Russians apparently anticipated the return of the lower portion of Bessarabia as well as the abrogation of the Black Sea clauses;[28] in 1870 all mention of Bessarabia was dropped.

In the second place, the new sources show beyond doubt that the originator was Gorchakov rather than Tsar Alexander. It is clear, therefore, that Goriainov's interpretation of the authorship of the 1870 coup is more accurate than Rheindorf's, for the latter writer inclines to give Alexander all the credit at the expense of his chancellor.[29]

The true parentage, both of the abortive proposal of 1866 and of the completed stroke of 1870, would seem to be this: the moral impetus and, to a certain extent, the timing, were the work of the tsar himself, but the plan of action in its main lines and in all its details, and finally its successful execution, were Gorchakov's. In 1866, as in 1870, the Russian minister of foreign affairs exhibited initiative, resourcefulness, and self-denying subordination to the long-

[26] The original Russian edition of Goriainov's work was published in St. Petersburg in 1907 and may well have been finished in manuscript in 1906.

[27] Goriainov; Kurt Rheindorf, *Die Schwarze-Meer-(Pontus-) Frage vom Pariser Frieden von 1856 bis zum Abschluss der Londoner Konferenz von 1871* (Berlin, 1925).

[28] In May, 1866, Lord John Russell indicated British readiness to consider the return of Bessarabia to Russia (Goriainov, p. 145). Oubril suggested that it be traded for recognition of Prince Charles as ruler of Rumania (Oubril, No. 163 *secrète,* May 19/31, 1866, R,ARVP). In August Bismarck suggested the cession (Oubril, No. 261 *secrète,* July 26/Aug. 7, 1866, R,ARVP). In November the tsar told the Prussian crown prince that he desired the return of the land ceded by the treaty of Paris (Gorchakov to Oubril, Nov. 10 [22], 1866, R,ARVP), and Gorchakov made a similar remark to the Austrian ambassador a few weeks later (Revertera to Beust, No. 34C *réservé,* Dec. 10/Nov. 28, 1866, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna).

[29] Rheindorf, p. 92 and n. 69.

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term interests of the nation. This fact should serve to clear from his reputation some of the tarnish acquired in a later decade when his faculties were past their prime. And it is an augury that, when more of the Russian sources for the 1860's see the light, there will come a juster appreciation of the eminent ability, as well as of the strength of character, of Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov.

CHESTER W. CLARK

State University of Iowa

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Reviews of Books

General History

SOURCE BOOK OF MEDICAL HISTORY. Compiled with Notes by *Logan Clendening,* Professor of the History of Medicine, University of Kansas. (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Medical Book Department of Harper and Brothers. 1942. Pp. xiv, 685. $10.00.)

THE general historian is no stranger to the source book as a valuable adjunct to his teaching tools. Although he may know most of the texts commonly used for giving his students some firsthand knowledge of the raw materials of history, he might be surprised to learn that the relatively new disciplines of the history of medicine and of science, especially the former, already have a respectable list of source books available for those who would become easily acquainted at first hand with the history of man's efforts to conquer and control his environment.

To the list of anthologies which cover such special fields as Greek medicine, pathology, physiology, surgery, cardiology, obstetrics and gynecology, and classic descriptions of disease, may now be added this monumental work covering the general field of medicine by Dr. Logan Clendening of Kansas City, Missouri. The compiler has already achieved fame as a popularizer of medical history. His reputation now assumes added luster by this evidence of his scholarship.

Out of a harvest of medical literature produced during four millennia Dr. Clendening has sifted 139 extracts from the writings of 120 authors. He begins with the ancient Egyptian papyri, the oldest medical books known, and concludes with Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen's classic announcement of the discovery of X-rays. Each section is prefaced by a brief account of the author and a statement of the significance of the passage selected. Bibliographical notes are added as a guide to further reading.

The first sixteen chapters are of a general nature, reflecting the growth and structure of medicine from Hippocrates, who lived in the fourth century B. C., to William Harvey, physician to Charles I of England, who in the seventeenth century solved the riddle of the circulation of the blood. These and subsequent chapters give the reader a glimpse of the development of every phase of medicine. There is a case history from Galen (second century A.D.). Paré discourses on gunshot wounds, Sydenham on epidemic diseases, Morgagni on the seats and causes of diseases, Bagellardus on the diseases of children. Laennec tells how he invented the stethoscope, Jenner writes on vaccination, and Benjamin Waterhouse, the Harvard professor, recounts how he introduced vaccination into the United States. Thus we learn from the discoverers and workers themselves how the art and science of medicine progressed.

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But the anthology is not limited exclusively to the writings of medical men. Dr. Clendening has made a series of noteworthy selections from the writings of nonmedical authors. Thus there are extracts from Homer, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Chaucer, Molière, Macaulay, Dickens, and John Brown, and these readings serve to present a picture of medicine at various historic periods as viewed through the eyes of contemporaries. The compiler has here performed a notable service in directing attention once again to the fact that the sources of history do not exist exclusively in political and military archives.

Dr. Clendening has produced a book useful to teacher and student alike. It deserves a place on every historian's reference shelf.

Library of Congress MORRIS C. LEIKIND

THE URGE TO THE SEA: THE COURSE OF RUSSIAN HISTORY; THE ROLE OF RIVERS, PORTAGES, OSTROGS, MONASTERIES, AND FURS. By *Robert J. Kerner,* Sather Professor of History in the University of California. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 212. $2.50.)

The Urge to the Sea is not intended as a history of Russia. Knowledge of Russia's history is presupposed, and divers incidents are freely referred to without overstrict attention to their chronological sequence. Thus, Napoleon's march to Moscow is described at some length in a chapter entitled "The Kievan State". It might, therefore, be unfair to raise such general questions as whether there ever was a "Kievan State". In passing it may, however, be remarked that the numerous illustrative sketch maps are perhaps more emphatic than useful. Drawn to varying scales and from different angles of vision, they, like the eclectic chronology, may even confuse the unwary.

Nor is this book intended to supplement Golder's study of the Russian advance to the Pacific; in the main it deals with the European portion of the Eurasian plain. Its subtitle, indeed, best explains its purpose, which is to stress "the role of rivers, portages, ostrogs, monasteries, and furs", within "the Course of Russian History". The author takes as his text the famous passage from the chronicle, beginning "There is a road from the Varangians to the Greeks", and develops the theme in the inimitable Kerner manner, with extensive catalogues of 125 portages, 140 monasteries, and 94 Siberian ostrogs. Professor Kerner disclaims any suggestion that the phenomena on which he concentrates explain "all there is to Russian history". He is content to assert that "The history of Moscow is the story of how an insignificant ostrog became the capital of a Eurasian empire." He describes but makes no effort to explain the process, nor does he seek to connect it with the Tatar Horde, the church, and Novgorod as factors in Moscow's victory over Tver and other rivals for supremacy in the Russian Mesopotamia.

Most of all one wonders why this study of the Russian river network should be titled *The Urge to the Sea.* Rivers do flow to the sea, it is true, but least of all

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rivers do those of the Eurasian plain seek the sea with any urgency. And the Russian who seeks the open sea had best strike overland. The greatest of Russia's rivers futilely feeds the shrinking Caspian; scarcely less landlocked are the Black Sea and the White, which receive Russia's other major rivers; only a few lesser streams find even the Baltic; while vast Siberia drains slowly into the ice-blocked Arctic. Throughout history the attitude of the Russians toward matters maritime seems to reflect the same lack of urge to the sea that is exhibited by Russian rivers.

The record accords far better with Kliuchevskii's concept of colonization, the gradual overland occupation of a vast continental area, shunning the seacoasts so long as possible. This is not to deny that in the process of internal colonization the factors discussed in this book played a vital role. But it is indeed curious to find a discussion of Russian history in terms of a detailed study of watersheds with no reference to the classic struggle between the forest and the steppe, an account of the rise of Moscow in terms of remote monasteries with no reference to the metropolitanate and the struggle over church landholding. That "the fur trade was synonymous with the conquest of Siberia" has long been known, but what light does it shed on an "urge to the sea" that allowed two centuries to elapse between the first glimpse of the Pacific (1639) and the founding of Vladivostok (1860)? A footnote to the preface suggests that the present work is to be regarded merely as "a brief preliminary exposition of only a part" of a "new synthesis of Russian history", for which Professor Kerner feels his researches have laid the groundwork. It would be indeed of major interest to see how a new synthesis may be able to utilize this painstaking tabulation of inland waterways to affect the classic presentation of Kliuchevskii, so masterfully phrased a generation ago.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC. By *C. W. de Kiewiet,* Professor of History, Cornell University, Sometime Professor of History in the State University of Iowa. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 292. $3.75.)

W. E. Gladstone is said to have described South Africa as a great unsolved and perhaps unsolvable problem. This doleful diagnosis is upheld by Professor de Kiewiet, who, in a brief but extremely interesting and valuable book, tells the story of the land, climate, resources, and economic and social problems of the African subcontinent. The author writes out of the fullness of his knowledge and the ripeness of his experience as scholar and teacher. Born and reared in South Africa, trained in historical scholarship at the University of London, the author of two other excellent works on South African history, and an American university professor with years of research and experience, de Kiewiet enjoys unusual qualifications as an authority on the subject whereof he writes.

In the book under review the author stresses the geographical factors in

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South African history. He shows their influence on not only the economic history of the country but also on the development of its political and social institutions, on the customs and intellectual habits of its people. Time and again the reader is reminded of the fact that South Africa, the world's greatest producer of gold and diamonds, is basically a poor country where the standard of living of the majority of the people is deplorably low, a country whose economic and social problems have been made intractable by reason of this poverty. An infertile soil, an irregular rainfall, a lack of good harbors and navigable rivers, and careless farming, together with a social order shaped by racial prejudices and antagonisms, explain most of the difficulties and paradoxes in South Africa.

Race ranks with geography as a dominant factor in shaping the course of South African history. Boer and Briton have not amalgamated, despite the seemingly overwhelming reasons for their doing so. They have been kept apart less by reason of British imperial policy than by other influences—anti-British propaganda of the Dutch and Germans, the transplantation to South Africa of the baleful antagonisms which have ruined Europe. In South Africa, as in America, hyphenism has been a curse of the country and a delight for the lower order of politicians and office seekers. Professor de Kiewiet makes it abundantly clear that even more significant than the relations between Boer and Briton for the past, present, and future of South Africa are those between European and non-European, which relations have been infinitely complicated by economic conditions and problems peculiar to South Africa.

Although the book contains much factual information, it supplements rather than supplants the *History of South Africa* by Professor Eric Walker chiefly because Professor de Kiewiet's main emphasis is upon the whys and wherefores. He presents admirable, rapid surveys of episodes and incisive characterizations of individuals as well as racial groups, but most of the space is devoted to the analysis of situations. His story is enlivened by comparisons with European, American, and Australian analogies. The book is informative and, above all, thoughtful, provocative, and rather pessimistic. The reader is left with the impression that to find a solution of the South African problem is beyond the wit of man.

Professor de Kiewiet has written a real history, not a tract. In it the Anglophobe will find little comfort; on the other hand, the honest student of history will derive much benefit from perusing it. In South Africa the imperial factor has operated neither in a conscious nor in a planned fashion. Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century the European inhabitants were free to work out their destiny in the land they call their own. Professor de Kiewiet shows that the famous Great Trek was a retrograde movement; that the emigrant Boers sought a freedom which meant the perpetuation of an old order; and that republican Transvaal was much less liberal in government and social policy than was Cape Colony.

The book is well written and contains many excellent passages. Such sentences as "South Africa has advanced politically by disasters and economically by

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windfalls" (p. 89) will linger in the reader's memory. Although the volume is remarkably free from errors, a few have been noted. James Stephen was not permanent undersecretary for the colonies in the 1820's (p. 46); Lord Russell (p. 46) should be Lord Stanley; and Britain's proclamation that all of South Africa was a sphere of British influence did not make the Transvaal "a suzerain state" (p. 128). The frequent use of the word "sleeper" for railroad tie may confuse American readers.

Professor de Kiewiet has done a splendid job, and his book is of great value to all students of British imperial history.

University of Wisconsin PAUL KNAPLUND

SOMETHING WENT WRONG: A SUMMATION OF MODERN HISTORY. By *Lewis Browne*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. x, 360. $3.00.)

SOMETHING is, of course, always going wrong, and the only hint to the prospective buyer as to what this book is about is the subtitle, "A Summation of Modern History". What went wrong with modern history was that with all our marvelous machines we have not been able to get the wealth they create properly distributed, and we are now engaged in making as many machines as possible to destroy wealth—and people.

Mr. Browne's book is not strictly a summation of modern history but an account of the development of technology since the eighteenth century and of the effect it has had in changing people's ways of living and making a living, in leading to imperialist expansion, thereby giving rise to international conflicts and wars. The story has been told before, but Mr. Browne is telling it for a wide reading public—for the ordinary intelligent person who has little knowledge of history or economics but would like to know how the world has got itself the way it is. In order to make the book intelligible and interesting to such people, Mr. Browne makes a special effort to tell the story in a vivid way, to put everything as concretely as possible, to give a dramatic quality to the events, to make the writing snappy, and to break up the course into short runs (there are thirty-eight chapters) so that the traveler, stopping to get his breath at frequent intervals, will not mind the length of the journey so much or think the going too hard.

There are, of course, some disadvantages in this method. For example, Mr. Browne starts out by asking what happened in 1776. Well, everyone thinks about the signing of the Declaration of Independence. But Mr. Browne calls one's attention to the fact that in that year Watt's steam engine began to do business successfully; and in effect this little-regarded incident "was the X marking the spot where mankind turned a corner. Right about there mankind veered straight into the road to nowadays." This illustrates the method and the manner. Well, it wakes you up, makes you think, and gives you a concrete and vivid picture of mankind coming to a crossroad, turning sharply to the left, and accelerating

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straight down the wrong road to disaster. I am all for making history concrete and vivid, but mankind is probably a little more abstract and diffuse than this image seems to make it, and while it does, no doubt, turn to right or left now and then, it doesn't really ever turn a corner all at once or as sharply as all that. And, of course, dividing modern history into thirty-eight chapters, when you have only 360 pages to tell it in, has somewhat the effect of breaking it up into a series of little incidents standing in a row, each one seemingly about as significant as any other. The straight road to nowadays is apt to seem to the traveler to be over a lot of little hills, with a good deal of rough reconstruction going on here and there, and to run between blank walls that for the most part prevent one from getting a broad, oriented view of the country through which the road is leading. It is apt to seem to the traveler that he might, and might much better, have taken some other road.

The book is, however, an excellent one for the readers for whom it was written. It may not exhibit comprehensive grasp or penetrating analysis of the forces that have made the modern world what it is, but there are other books for those who want that sort of thing. It omits many influences that are essential to a "summation" of modern history—for example, the Declaration of Independence and all it implies. But most people know a good deal about the Declaration of Independence already, and if they are induced to think of it in connection with Watt's steam engine, that is all to the good. At all events, Mr. Browne seems to know his industrial and technological history very well and to have a very good notion of how the changes brought about by the machines got the world, in concrete instances and in a general way, into nowadays. In addition, the narrative is supported by a good many helpful maps and some simple statistical tables. And if the matter is a little oversimplified and the manner a little too snappy for my taste or needs, I am willing to concede that Mr. Browne knows better than I do how to make people take a little history and like it. Certainly the people for whom this book is written will, if they read it, learn much that they should know; and if they don't read this book or something very like it, they won't read any other more weighty one on the same subject or, most likely, any other at all.

Cornell University CARL BECKER

A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. Volume IV, THE GREAT CENTURY, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914: EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette,* D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. viii, 516. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Latourette continues his amazingly detailed and heavily documented *History of the Expansion of Christianity* in this fourth volume, to which

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he gives the subtitle of *The Great Century*. The author might well have called this volume "The Renaissance of Christianity", for the prospects at the close of the eighteenth century for the vigorous survival of this religion were gloomy. The Catholic countries of Portugal and Spain were in decay. The Jesuit Order had been suppressed. The American and French Revolutions had ushered in a new order which was indifferent, if not hostile, to revealed religion. Deism flourished. Whereas the attacks of the barbarians and of Islam in the earlier centuries had been invigorating challenges to the faith, Christianity seemed now to be threatened by the more serious sapping of its inner strength of conviction, with the consequent weakening of its institutional structure.

In the first hundred or so pages of his volume Professor Latourette analyzes the "climate of opinion" of the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on science, its impartial search for truth, its economic heritage of the industrial revolution, its disturbing and dislocating political and social theories, its growing nationalism, and its "exhilarating sense of expectancy" of the elimination of poverty, disease, ignorance, crime, and war—all referable rather to secular than to religious instrumentalities of accomplishment. Nevertheless, the thesis of Professor Latourette's volume is that Christianity, by an upsurge of vigor, marked by religious revivals, student volunteer movements, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., the enthusiasm for foreign missions and domestic bethels, the spread of Sunday schools, etc., met the challenge of the century victoriously. The churches in America, for example, more than kept pace with the growth of population, counting in their membership over 40 per cent of the people in 1900, as against 5 per cent in 1790 and 15.5 per cent in the middle of the century.

It is to the United States that Professor Latourette devotes the major part of this volume (pp. 174-456), because he believes that the fate of Christianity is staked largely on its success or failure in this country, just as George Washington declared in his inaugural address that the fate of republican government was "deeply, perhaps finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people".

> The United States was the largest of the new nations which had arisen from the transoceanic migration of European peoples. If Christianity failed to make progress there, its entire future might be jeopardized. If it could achieve a growing place in the new and rising country, it would be in a strong position to shape the life of the rest of mankind.
>
> Fortunately for the future of Christianity, the test was met (p. 176).

One is reminded here of the claims made by Mr. Henry Luce in his brochure on "The American Century".

Many will question the legitimacy of attributing to Christianity such moral progress as Europe and America have made during "the Great Century". Has not Professor Latourette, for all his broad tolerance, ventured too near to a dogmatic position when he claims that even men who have left Christianity for what is to

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them a more rational and inclusive religion are still to be classed (as a liberal clergyman remarked about the late Thomas Davidson) as "unconscious Christians"? For example, is it quite just to write, as Professor Latourette does on page 387, "Ralph Waldo Emerson, while eventually giving up the pastorate and departing in many ways from traditional Christianity [as if all Christianity were not "traditional"], bore indelibly the marks of his long clerical lineage and as itinerant lecturer was preacher [!] extraordinary to the American people"? Of course, if everything in the world that is high and noble is derived *ex hypothesi* from Christianity, there can be no argument with apologists, such as Professor Latourette, for the finality of that faith.

We are promised two more volumes in this exhaustive and authentic work on the history of the expansion of Christianity. Presumably Professor Latourette will follow the general plan adopted in all the volumes to date. If the plan seems somewhat rigid "in the index", it is redeemed from any tediousness by the skill with which the author handles his immense accumulation of data.

Columbia University DAVID S. MUZZEY

ROME. By *Hermann Vogelstein*. Translated from the German by *Moses Hadas*. [Jewish Communities Series.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1940. Pp. xiii, 421. $2.25.)

THIS English translation of the *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* (1896) by H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, is a new edition revised by Mr. Vogelstein (now in New York). It takes into account most of the considerable new material and studies which have seen the light during these last thirty years, though the loss of his library and of his accumulated notes on the subject prevented Mr. Vogelstein from making his revision more complete. He brought his bibliography up to date but suppressed the critical apparatus with the exception of a few notes, and he did not include the collection of inscriptions from Roman Jewish cemeteries which are now available in more complete critical editions.

A valuable addition to the book is a new chapter on the history of Roman Jewry from 1870 to the recent fascist anti-Semitic laws. According to the author, "the scant seventy years of freedom do not belong to the brilliant periods of history of the Jews in Rome". This may be so from the point of view of Jewish separatism; but otherwise it is a rather shocking statement. During those years of freedom the Jews in Rome as well as in other Italian cities took full advantage of the new opportunities open to them. They penetrated into all ranks of society; they achieved distinguished positions in politics, in business, in science, and in education. A Jew become mayor of Rome; two of them became premiers of Italy; they were numerous in the high ranks of the army, the navy, and diplomacy, in the universities and schools. Intermarriages were frequent and not objected to even in the aristocracy. The Jewish Roman community, which had ceased to exist

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in 1870, was organized again in 1882, but on a voluntary basis, which Mr. Vogelstein seems to regret. There was great rejoicing in the conservative Jewish ranks when Mussolini in 1930 made of the Jewish community an official body to which all Jews had to belong, with the right to exact contributions from its members, and put the whole organization under strict government supervision. Keeping an eye on the material advantages thus gained, they did not realize that they had lost their freedom. As Mr. Vogelstein says: "The Jewish communities of Italy were closely integrated with the Fascist system" (p. 374), and "in the political life and in the Fascist Party, Jews cooperated with the fullest patriotism and with the fullest party loyalty" (p. 378). What Mr. Vogelstein seems to regret most is that in spite of this loyalty the ungrateful Duce betrayed the Jews and copied the anti-Semitic laws of his master, Hitler. This last chapter of the history of Italian Jewry needs to be rewritten in the light of more complete information, but Mr. Vogelstein is correct in stating that Italian Jewry officially embraced the cause of fascism only to be outlawed shortly afterwards.

Harvard University G. La Piana

THE FAILURES OF PEACE: THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Kent Forster*. Introduction by Ernest Minor Patterson. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1941. Pp. vi, 159. Cloth $2.50, paper $2.00.)

Dr. Forster's book may be considered from three points of view. As a chronicle it has considerable value, despite certain too evident prejudices against the leading wartime statesmen of Britain and France. As a reference manual it is almost indispensable. It is not easy to get hold elsewhere of a compact and convenient narrative of the Czernin-Sixtus or the less familiar Von der Lancken negotiations. But as an argument for peace by compromise rather than peace by victory—an argument which the author does not hesitate to apply to World War II as well as to World War I (p. 152)—the book constantly falls into doubtful assertions or logical contradictions.

The author's main thesis is that the guilt of prolonging the war is on the shoulders of "certain personalities—not more than a score in number all told". Curiously little is said of the popular passions and prejudices that would probably have hurled these statesmen from power if they had offered enough to satisfy the enemy (on either side) before a military decision was reached. On the contrary, it is implied that the common people would have welcomed peace without victory. What other meaning can be attached to such a statement as this:

> Nor was Ribot alone in his refusal to regard any settlement as acceptable which did not restore completely the two lost provinces. Poincaré and the Painlevé Cabinet were no less inflexible in their views. But what of the people of France—the poilus in the trenches, the stricken refugees from the North, the weary and downcast folk at home? Kept quite in the dark, they could only

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blindly and reluctantly heed the dictates of a Government in the hands of men carried away with nationalistic fanaticism and hatred, men who with self-righteous self-deceit shouted that it was the Hun who spurned peace (p. 112).

Yet while we are thus told that the French people would gladly have surrendered their claim to Alsace-Lorraine if their government had not stifled their true wishes, we are also informed that no Germans except "extreme socialists" (p. 139) would for a moment have consented to give up Alsace-Lorraine or even allowed a plebiscite in any part of the provinces. In other words, the Alsace-Lorraine question would have to be settled in Germany's favor before any peace would have been possible; and those who would not accept the German solution were guilty of the continuance of the war! This is scarcely impartiality, but it is a possible opinion. What is less pardonable is the prejudice that labels veteran radicals like Lloyd George and Clemenceau as of "the nationalistic Rights who dominated the Governments" and applies the adjective "truculent" to such a peace lover as ex-President Taft (p. 146). There is a bibliography but no index.

University of Michigan PRESTON SLOSSON

CONQUEST AND MODERN INTERNATIONAL LAW: THE LEGAL LIMITATIONS ON THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY CONQUEST. By *Matthew M. McMahon*. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1940. Pp. vi, 233. $2.00.)

GENERAL international law recognizes several methods by which a state may add to the territory under its jurisdiction, principally by accretion, prescription, cession, occupation, and conquest. This volume deals with conquest, interpreted to mean acquisition of territory either by actual military force or by cession under threat of force. The author begins with a comprehensive historical survey of the term "conquest" as it has been understood by publicists of international law, classical and modern. Vitoria and the Catholic fathers of international law, universalists in outlook, did not sanction title by conquest. Nor did Grotius find that wars of territorial conquest could be classified as "just wars". It was only with Vattel and the Anglo-American school which he so greatly influenced that conquest became accepted as a legally valid means of increasing state dominion.

The burden of this book is not, however, the historical development of conquest as a term of international law. Rather Dr. McMahon's main thesis, as the subtitle of the work suggests, is that modern international law is in the process of developing limitations on the established principle that valid title may be derived by conquest. And it may be observed here that the proscribing of conquest as a lawful means of acquiring territory is fundamental to the establishment of an orderly world community.

Modern international law, the author points out, limits the acquisition of title by conquest largely through two means: through certain international agreements,

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such as the League Covenant and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which qualify the right of states to resort to war and a fortiori limit the right to acquire territory by conquest; and through the policies of nonrecognition and nonintervention, now accepted by many states either in specific conventions or through practice, or both.

The discussion of nonrecognition as a limitation on conquest is particularly pertinent. Nonrecognition is no longer a moral question devoid of practical significance. With the outbreak of the present war nonrecognition of territorial changes by force has become, for instance, the basis of the stream of United States executive orders freezing the assets of various occupied countries and of countries whose political independence has been otherwise lost. Likewise, it is safe to assume that when the war is over, present nonrecognition policies will be significant factors in territorial reconstruction.

Dr. McMahon's study, completed before the outbreak of the present war, deals with nonrecognition chiefly as it appeared in the Manchurian Affair, the Chaco War, and the Italo-Ethiopian War. Thus it forms an excellent basis for treating the many interesting manifestations of nonrecognition occasioned by the conquests of the Axis Powers in World War II.

Students of history and international law will find useful materials and useful references in this book. Moreover, it suggests some provocative ideas for continued investigation.

This volume is the result of studies undertaken by Dr. McMahon as a Penfield Fellow of the Catholic University of America. It is amply documented and contains a bibliography and an adequate index.

University of Michigan WILLIAM I. CARGO

Ancient and Medieval History

WHEN EGYPT RULED THE EAST. By *George Steindorff* and *Keith C. Seele*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 284. $4.00.)

THE value of this book might easily be underestimated even by one quite familiar with ancient history, but anyone who has faced the problem of teaching the history of the Ancient East to college freshmen and sophomores will be grateful for it. The work deals almost entirely with the period of the Egyptian Empire, with four short chapters on the earlier times and one on the later periods. The purpose, as stated in the preface, was to bring out the significance of discoveries made since the publication of the classic work on Egypt, Breasted's *History of Egypt*.

The authors deal adequately with the new material. To mention only a few examples, full reference is made to the material from the tomb of Tutankhamen,

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the re-excavation of the Sphinx, the finds at Deir el-Bahri and elsewhere. New material from Syria (the Ras Shamra finds) and from Nubia are also utilized and woven into the story of Egypt. Complete mastery of the subject is shown on every page, and the historical presentation is unusually simple and interesting. The reader will notice especially the able and judicious manner in which disputed matters are handled. For instance, the sober handling of Akhenaten's so-called "monotheism" is one of the most realistic treatments of this subject that has appeared anywhere.

The student of Greek and Roman history may have a few reservations when he reads the authors' words: "For that reason [*i.e.*, the lack of materials] it will be forever impossible to extend to the treatment of Egyptian History the same uniformity which may be applied, for example, to the classical peoples of Greece and Rome or to the peoples of Europe during the Middle Ages" (p. 6). The general position is, no doubt, well taken, but one recalls how little we know of Greece from 1100 to 650 B. C. and of Rome before 300 B. C.

There are 108 excellent photographs in the book, an outline of Egyptian history, and an index. The publisher's job has been done quite as flawlessly as has the authors'.

This book should be extremely useful to college teachers. There is no other book of such a nature known to this reviewer to which a teacher can send a student for a fairly brief, up-to-date, and authoritative account of the period of the Egyptian Empire. There is no other work of such size, moreover, which fits the history of the empire in with the developments in western Asia so easily and consistently as this one does. Not that the authors devote long sections to the Hittites, Babylonians, Mitanni, and other peoples of the time, but the references made to these contemporary peoples are clear, concise, and full of meaning.

The real contribution here, in the way of scholarly interpretation, is found in the chapters on Egyptian religion and art. The authors make clear to the reader the importance of localism in Egyptian polytheism as well as the vague, inconsistent, and uncertain nature of many of the Egyptians' religious concepts. It is difficult to give a sound expository treatment to such a subject without making beliefs, ideas, and concepts seem much more fixed and definite than they actually were. The authors have skillfully avoided dogmatizing. The chapter on art is adorned with some of the most excellent illustrations in the book, and the text exhibits a fine feeling for the best Egyptian work. The book properly treats with much reserve the colossal and grandiose work of the Age of the Ramessids. It is always difficult to keep the student from regarding this colossal work as the finest product of Egyptian art. It requires skill and knowledge to set forth the real greatness of Egyptian art in a short treatment such as this.

University of Missouri THOMAS A. BRADY

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AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ATHENS UNDER ROMAN DOMINATION. By *John Day,* Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin in Barnard College, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 300. $3.50.)

THIS book shows how much studies in the history of later Athens have progressed in recent times. Forty-five years ago Athens after 300 B.C. was a no man's land. Since then it has been occupied and explored with continually increasing minuteness by scholars of all countries. The literary remains, meager but indispensable, have been augmented somewhat and have acquired new significance through integration with nonliterary records of all kinds. These have been enormously increased by excavations and have been made susceptible of historical use by the substitution of precise or approximately precise for vague or erroneous chronological determinations. To illustrate the general increase of knowledge by one point, it is safe to say that the statistical tables compiled or reproduced in Professor Day's *Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* could not have been made or imagined forty-five years ago.

The chief characteristic of the book is its comprehensiveness. Not only has Professor Day drawn on the formidable literature now available for Athens itself, but he has made full use of the works, notably those of Heichelheim, Larsen, and Rostovtzeff, which deal with the economic movements of later Greece as a whole and the Hellenistic world in general. One may say that all the data relevant to his subject have been carefully and cautiously appraised and woven into a text which proceeds soberly from start to finish. The chapter headings will serve to indicate the scope of the book: I, "Athens before the Romans: Third Century B.C."; II, "Second Century to the Acquisition of Delos: 200-166 B.C."; III, "From the Acquisition of Delos to the Sack of Athens: 166-86 B.C."; IV, "From Sulla to the Death of Augustus: 86 B.C.-14 A.D."; V, "Athens under the Emperors: 14-200 A.D."; VI, "Third Century A.D."; VII, "Aftermath: Fourth and Fifth Centuries". Two of these chapters are deserving of special attention—those concerning the period from 200 to 86 B.C.—in that they confirm the conclusion already reached that Athens, unlike most of the eastern world, made steady economic progress during these three generations and a half of Roman benevolence.

A few controversial points deserve a word or two of comment. On page 275 Professor Day presents a very useful table showing the numbers of Athenians enrolled in the corps of ephebes in the years covered by records between the early third century B.C. and *ca.* 200 A.D.; and in the accompanying text he submits it to a cautious analysis which the reviewer is disposed to accept generally. He would like, however, to observe that the attractiveness of the ephebes corps had probably a good deal to do with its size and that in the third century the paucity of ephebes may be connected with the reality of military activity rather than with the financial incapacity of the circles of citizens from which they were recruited.

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Professor Day (pp. 41 ff.) has the great authority of Rostovtzeff (*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* p. 641 and *passim*) behind him in associating royal gifts to Hellenistic Athens with the desires of the donors to improve the economic relations of their states with the ancient seat of commerce and culture. It is fruitless to try to establish motives when they are not openly avowed; but it still seems to me probable that these benefactors were more interested in prestige than in profits.

The sack of Athens by Sulla seems to coincide pretty closely with the slackening of silver mining in Attica. It occurs to me that there is a causal connection between the sharp decline in the production of silver and the sale by Sulla of the Athenian slaves in 86 B.C. Appian (*Mithr.* 38) reports the sale in such a way that Professor Day (p. 119) limits its application to the urban slaves; but it seems incredible that Sulla, whose primary concern was ready money, failed to auction off to the slave dealers the largest body of industrial slaves in Attica. Without servile labor the silver mines had never been worked profitably.

Professor Day leaves unsolved the old problem of the huge size (comparatively) of the aliens in imperial Attica designated as Milesians and the occasional appearance in the imperial ephebe-catalogues of the caption Milesians to designate all noncitizens. There seems to me to be nothing in the condition of Miletus to explain the facts (Broughton, in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* IV, 755). Conjectures are alone possible. I should like to risk another, namely, that Athens by some legislative act gave the status of Milesian to a general category of aliens (including those capable of enrollment in the ephebe corps) who met the conditions, whatever they were, laid down in the statute. Because of its past and its filial relation to Athens, Miletus, the "first settled city of Ionia", was an appropriate choice to give its name to this class.

Harvard University W. S. Ferguson

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited by *J. H. Clapham,* Emeritus Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge, Vice Provost of King's College, and the late *Eileen Power,* Professor of Economic History in the University of London, Honorary Fellow of Girton College. Volume I, THE AGRARIAN LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xvii, 650. $7.50.)

According to the plan of the editors the first three volumes of this history are to describe the economic life of medieval Europe. The second, partly written, will picture its industry and commerce, the third its finance and economic thought. The sudden death of Professor Power, who planned the three, is a disaster both to the volumes and to medieval scholarship. All who knew her will not forget her vitality, originality, learning, and administrative ability. The publication of this

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volume has been attended with difficulties, since the contributors dwelt as far afield as Finland and the United States. That it should appear at all is a tribute to the editors and to the stability of English scholarship. That it lacks an introduction which might bring together its discussions is due to the loss of a guiding hand.

Its scope is panoramic, extending in time through some twelve centuries and in space from the provinces of the Roman Empire to Scandinavia, Russia, and intervening lands. Since certain periods and areas are naturally treated more fully than others, the outcome is a kind of central trunk with various branches. The trunk comprises the agrarian institutions of the late Roman Empire, their partial survival in Mediterranean lands, their transformation in France and England by Germanic institutions, the amalgamation of the two types into the manorial forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and finally the disintegration of these during an equally long period. Variants are introduced by the Arabs in Spain and the Slavs east of the Elbe. Topics developed are the extension of settlement, the methods of tillage with the crops and the fruits favored, the tenures by which land was held, including the effect of these upon the tillers of the soil. Since the last subject practically embraces the social life of most of the population of Europe, it is rightly most emphasized. It necessitates discussions of slavery and serfdom, the exploitation of the domain or manor, both of the lord's demesne and of the tenants' holdings, and the shifting from an economy of services to one of money. To some degree the volume serves as an encyclopedia for any of these subjects; and the elaborate bibliography should be widely used.

In a history of this sort the criterion of success is not the presentation of new views but the compression of accepted ones into a lucid whole. Which does not, of course, preclude a contributor from enlarging a little on a theme dear to him. Certain chapters the editors envisaged as general, others as specialized. But the reader is likely to profit most not by following the first sort with the second but by reading in succession three of the best ones, written with skill and finish. One is the general chapter on the "Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seignorial Institutions" by Professor Bloch. The others, by Mr. Stevens and Professor Neilson, though more specialized, sketch, respectively, antecedent and successive institutions so broadly that the three develop the central theme admirably to the end of the thirteenth century. The last chapter, a general one on the following period by Professor Nabholz, is less successful. While it is informing about German conditions between the Rhine and the Elbe, its generalizations and its account of England are sometimes misleading.

Mr. Stevens explains how the best agrarian technique of the Romans, that of dry farming supplemented at times by irrigation, required a supply of energetic labor which was not forthcoming under the disturbed conditions and the oppressive taxation of the late empire. Land went out of cultivation, and the farmer, despite the wishes of the government, took refuge in the patronage of the great

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proprietor. Estates tended to become self-sufficient units, and "the very rich and the very poor faced each other". This is the society from which Professor Bloch derives the *seigneurie* of the ninth century. Christian and economic considerations contributed to the replacement of the slave by the "hutted" slave, beside whom dwelt the depressed freeman. From the ninth century the two groups coalesced, while the lords, on their part, acquired immunity in jurisdiction. A fresh glance is cast upon the German antecedents of the *seigneurie*. In early Germany and in Gaul place names and other evidence reveal rural chieftains to whom families owed gifts and whose descendants formed the nobles of the future. In this way two types of society co-operated to create the aristocratic institutions of the Middle Ages. Professor Neilson's sketch of these in their full development in England is classic in its precision; and the description of various rents and of the forest reflects her own researches. Her account should at once be compared with Professor Ganshof's description of contemporary manors in France and western Germany. There an earlier substitution of rents for services reflected the lord's desire to be rid of responsibility for the exploitation of the demesne and to be assured of a steady income. And the same desire led to the disintegration of the demesne by lease. On the other hand, the demesne often tended to expand by encroaching on the waste, therein rivaling the assarting of tenants, who in this way secured freer tenures.

More impressive than either expansion was the extension of settlement, described by Professor Koebner in a chapter noteworthy for critical erudition. The movement after 1050, he thinks, should be attributed less to growth of population than to new energies on the part of peasants, monastic bodies, and princes. He rejects, too, Pirenne's explanation of the earlier decay of town life in France as attendant upon the cutting off of Mediterranean trade by the Arabs. It was due rather to the Roman landowner of the middle sort, long resident in the towns but at length going into the country to mingle with the Franks and thereby escape from the social inferiority implied in the half-wergeld.

The specialized chapters relate much that is not easily accessible elsewhere. Such is the sketch of the revitalizing of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century by the creation of a military peasantry and its weakening in the tenth by the growth of great estates, tragically told by Professor Ostrogorsky. Such is Professor Struve's distinction between the aristocratic allodial regime of pre-thirteenth century Russia, with its privileged landowners and its landless and stockless free-tillers, and the "liturgical" state regime of the next four centuries, in which the latter class, partly through action of the state, was reduced to dependence on the former, while both in different ways lost freedom of movement. Such, too, is Professor Aubin's vivid and specific account of German colonists east of the Elbe and the development of the *Rittergut* in this region. And such is Professor Bolin's illuminating description of the Scandinavian village community as a form of settlement not primitive but developed not very long before the thirteenth cen-

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tury. The learned contributors to the volume render it one which students of medieval history will use both as a synthesis and as an exposition of new methods and recent views.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania H. L. GRAY

MEDIEVAL HUMANISM. By *Gerald Groveland Walsh,* S. J., Professor of Medieval Culture, Fordham University. [The Christendom Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. ix, 103. $1.00.)

MEDIEVAL Humanism in one hundred pages. A large order. And yet to some, despite all the light that has been cast on that dark period since the beginning of the present century, one hundred pages will appear too many. Medievalism with its drab ecclesiastical bigotry and humanism with its joyous freedom in the life of science may appear contradictions in terms. Father Walsh, professor of medieval culture at Fordham University and editor of its new journal *Thought,* which has made a good name for itself in a short time, boldly contends that the only true humanism is that which has developed under the auspices of the Christian Church; that, for the Middle Ages, means at least the Roman Catholic Church. For this view I think he has made out a good case.

The book is of uneven quality. The first two chapters, on "The Tradition of Christian Humanism" and "The Roots of Christian Humanism", provide a readable and stimulating introduction, though including various questionable details. The next chapter, called "Light in the Dark Ages", begins, to our surprise, with the Carolingian Renaissance or, as Father Walsh prefers to call it, the "Carolingian Revirescence". Generally one applies the term "Dark Ages" to the period preceding, rather than that following, the achievements of Charlemagne and his successors in the ninth century, though noting a decline of culture in the tenth century. But what is in a name? A more serious defect in these twenty-seven pages, which include everything down through the eleventh century, is the perfunctory treatment of the authors considered. Brief it must be, but we expect a few profitable brilliant generalizations that spring from firsthand meditations on the original sources. Some of the generalizations attempted in various parts of this book are too simple, particularly when they concern the ancient world. There is occasionally an unscholarly habit of referring to Migne's *Patrologia Latina* by volume and page with no mention of the particular work of the author discussed (pp. 15, 18); we should welcome the citation of more critical editions now and then; and certainly when one floors an opponent (p. 17), one should cite the page as well as the title (p. 17).

With the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century", the author is on surer ground. His account, he states, is drawn largely from Haskins's memorable book, but he is wrong in stating that "this work, in turn, is largely a summary of many works that have appeared in the last twenty-five years". Haskins worked always

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at first hand, though exhibiting likewise his vast acquaintance with what others had done. Father Walsh's bibliographical list should be supplemented at least with the names of Gilson, Maritain, and J. B. Fletcher; for not many speak above a whisper, in our days, of Medieval Humanism or, in particular, of the humanism of Dante.

The strength of the little book consists of the studies of the writers with whom the author seems most familiar, notably St. Augustine (the remarks on the *De musica* are of high value), Hrotsvitha, St. Thomas, and Dante. Above all in passages where the Celtic spirit is discussed, he speaks from the heart. There are lively little translations into verse. It might have been better to give the high lights in a series of essays than to attempt to cover all the ground. But taking the little book as it is, despite its defects, it will awaken the general reader to the reality of Medieval Humanism.

Harvard University E. K. Rand

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES. Volume III. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies; New York: Sheed and Ward. 1941. Pp. 280. $5.00.)

This third volume of *Mediaeval Studies,* dedicated to H. H. Pius XII, continues the distinguished tradition established by those issues previously published and definitely proves the series to be one now essential for all scholars and serious students of the Middle Ages. The contents of the book represent many interests, and those of various needs and differing tastes should all find something to arouse their curiosity, appease their special desires, and, in any case, augment their own store of learning. First place is quite rightly accorded Professor E. K. Rand's altogether delightful "A Romantic Approach to the Middle Ages". Readers who expect from this the telling phrase, apt and clever quotation, and the urbane wit so characteristic of the writer will not be disappointed. They will regret, doubtless, that they could not have heard for themselves a lecture that must have amused, as well as informed, an appreciative Toronto audience. For Professor Rand romantic is "that which seeks and proclaims the ideal" and is not to be considered in this connection as something opposed to "classic". For the "pure", scientific historian, who succeeds in "being bibliographical instead of picturesque" the author has little sympathy, and for "debunkers of the middle ages" none at all. Many a point is made and not a few sharp thrusts put forth against the contentions of Professor G. G. Coulton, whose interpretations of things medieval neither Professor Rand in this instance nor many in other connections are always able to accept. The reviewer has been informed that Professor Coulton was a member of the interested audience when Professor Rand's address was read. Knowledge of this fact should add to the enjoyment of those who read the essay. Published in this volume also is a lecture of quite a different type. This is Jacques Maritain's "L'humanisme de Saint Thomas d'Aquin", delivered in April, 1941, before the

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Mediaeval Academy at its annual meeting held in Princeton. Here it is as a philosopher of being, *le plus existentiel des philosophes,* that Maritain finds Thomas the greatest philosopher of Christian humanism. The author confessedly speaks not as historian but as philosopher. He is, therefore, at times somewhat more systematic and rigorously philosophical than many untutored historians will find comfortable; they will, however, find much of interest in what he has to say and perhaps in time understand more clearly than the reviewer is able to do the import of his argument and the validity of his position.

All the other articles in the volume are addressed primarily to specialists in various branches of medieval studies. They are all worth while, many distinguished in character, but certainly few easy reading. Gerhart B. Ladner deals in detailed fashion with one of the most puzzling problems of late antique and early medieval iconography in his "The So-called Square Nimbus". This "square of perfection" was used in early medieval Rome to indicate persons still living or recently deceased and implied perfection. It had, however, nothing to do with the symbolism of light so closely associated with the halo. This square nimbus is found in a series of Roman fresco portraits and mosaics depicting popes and donors. These run continuously from the eighth to the twelfth century, and Ladner notes some fifty-five examples that he has found helpful in his analysis of the problem. An even more specialized contribution is Father J. Reginald O'Donnell's "The Syncategoremata of William of Sherwood". This is a logical work of a thirteenth century Parisian master, later treasurer of Lincoln, whom Roger Bacon called "the wisest of Christians". It is here published from a Parisian manuscript of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The reviewer would welcome something more than the rather meager two pages of introductory notes provided by the editor. Father T. P. McLaughlin's "The Prohibition of Marriage against Canons in the Early Twelfth Century" is a brief, learned, compact, and important essay that the reviewer found especially informing and helpful. Here is a well-composed explanation of how the texts all support the contentions of Héloïse in her plea against marriage with Abélard. There are, of course, many other interesting facts and a succinct analysis of legal points—all too numerous to be mentioned in detail here. Father G. B. Flahiff's "The Use of Prohibitions by Clerics against Ecclesiastical Courts in England" is also an excellent study, dealing in learned and exhaustive fashion with important questions of legal history. The essay is of indubitable importance also for constitutional historians and for those who deal with matters of ecclesiastical history. It offers further proof of a most vivid sort that clerical and secular issues were less clear-cut than historians have frequently imagined and furnishes additional proof, if that be necessary, that even clerics were not averse to making fact of fiction if their ends were thereby better served.

Otto Bird concludes in this issue his publication of "The Canzone d'Amore of Cavalcanti according to the Commentary of Dino del Garbo: Text and Com-

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mentary". Lawrence E. Lynch analyzes "The Doctrine of Divine Ideas and Illumination in Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln". He finds Robert entirely within the old Augustinian tradition in all essential points of doctrine, with certain ideas occasionally interpreted in the light of St. Anselm. There is, however, no question of introducing the Aristotelian active intellect, "for there is no Aristotelian abstraction". The last hundred pages of the volume contain Albert D. Menut and Alexander J. Denomy's edition of "Maistre Nicole Oresme, Le livre du ciel et du monde: Text and Commentary". This is the first of the four books of this hitherto unpublished treatise, the earliest vernacular translation of Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo,* done into French at the request of Charles V of France by the foremost French savant of the time. Oresme did this work in 1377. The remaining books and the critical introduction are to appear later, and only then can the work of these editors and of their fourteenth century author be properly evaluated. It is their hope, however, that this treatise of Oresme will serve especially the needs of students of the history of medieval science and help likewise those who are more concerned with the history and development of the French language. It should be evident from these brief notes that this volume contains treasures rich and varied.

Princeton University GRAY C. BOYCE

THE CRUSADE OF RICHARD LION-HEART. By *Ambroise.* Translated from the Old French by *Merton Jerome Hubert,* Professor of Romance Languages, the University of Cincinnati. With Notes and Documentation by *John L. La Monte,* Henry C. Lea Associate Professor of History, the University of Pennsylvania. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 478. $4.00.)

THE account by Ambroise may well be, as the editors have stated, "finer than any other account of the Crusade of Richard" and "certainly the best source for the Crusade of Richard". As such it merits the great care which the editors and publishers have employed in making it available to English readers in this attractive form, for it will appeal not only to the scholar and student but even more widely to all who are interested in English participation in the Crusades.

It is the irony of fate that the basic accounts of the two most interesting Crusades, the First and Third, are by unknown writers whose anonymity has thus far defied all efforts to unveil them. The editors have grappled with this problem of the Third Crusade. Reviewing the critical work of Stubbs, Gaston Paris, Archer, Norgate, and Bovée, they have reached the conclusion that neither the Latin Itinerarium nor the French poem which is here translated can be regarded as the original account. The true original, they believe, was an account in French prose, now lost. In this theory they agree with J. G. Edwards, who had independ-

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ently arrived at the same conclusion. With a stroke of intuition, however, they have suggested that Ambroise, who is usually considered the author of the French poem, is not necessarily such but may be the name of the original writer of the French prose account. It is unfortunate that they did not make an independent investigation of the dates of composition. Apparently they were content with Norgate's pronouncement that part of the Itinerarium was written as early as 1192, and most of it might have been written by that time, though some of it was written after 1199 and the final items not before 1202. They do, however, point out that the first part of the Itinerarium was taken in large from the Latin Continuator of William of Tyre, that the main body was translated from a French account under the direction of Richard of Holy Trinity, and that the added portions not found in Ambroise might have been obtained from other documents. In other words, the Itinerarium is distinctly a compilation from a number of sources. The portion of the first book which must be dated not later than 1192 was presumably taken from the first portion of the Latin Continuation of William of Tyre, which Marianne Salloch has likewise so dated. The account of Ambroise as here translated was done by this Norman poet before the death of Richard in 1199, of which he seems unaware, whereas the Itinerarium, compiled from a variety of sources, includes items of information as late as 1202. The editors of this translation may, therefore, be very close to the actual truth in regarding Ambroise as the author of the original account. The events with which the poem closes represent Richard engaged in victorious war against Philip, marked possibly by the treaty of January, 1196, and before Richard's reverses set in a year later. The triumphal reception of Richard in Normandy after his release from captivity in the summer of 1194 may well have been the inspiration needed by Ambroise to turn his prose notes into verse. If so, the editors of this translation will have supplied us with a name for the hitherto anonymous author.

The translation attempts to reproduce the rhythm and rhyme of the original. In this the translators seem to have succeeded to an extraordinary degree. Perhaps the effort has compelled them to sacrifice something of the elegance which the original must have conveyed to the people of the time, but any such loss is more than offset by the clarity of meaning which it conveys to the reader of the translation. In this respect it offers a contrast to the recent prose translation of the same work by E. N. Stone (University of Washington, 1939). The latter to a considerable extent succeeded, as he sought to do, in recapturing something of that original elegance by a liberal use of archaic phrases. In so doing, however, he sacrificed some of the clarity of meaning which the present translation affords. Perhaps this added clarity is due to the hearty and happy collaboration of a linguist and a historian. The copious notes, probably furnished chiefly by the historian, also contribute much to this result. The editors evidently enjoyed their enterprise greatly, and this is certain to be shared by the readers as well.

University of Minnesota A. C. Krey

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GUILLELMI DE OCKHAM OPERA POLITICA. Editor, *J. G. Sikes.* Associate Editors, *B. L. Manning, R. F. Bennett, H. S. Offler, R. H. Snape.* Volume I. [Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCLXXIII.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 374. 36*s.*)

In the development of late medieval political thought no period is more important than the first half of the fourteenth century. It was then that the extreme doctrines of papal authority, set forth in brief somewhat earlier by the canonists, received their first systematic defense and met their first systematic attack. It is only in the last dozen years or so that we have had critical editions of some of the most important of these writings, such as the *Defensor pacis* or the *De potestate* of Egidius Romanus. The most voluminous of all the political works of this period, and among the most important, are those of William of Ockham; but very few have hitherto had direct access to these writings in any form, apart from the brief *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate,* first published in the present century; and the only text available even to the few has been the rare and corrupt one reprinted in the seventeenth century from the early editions in Goldast's *Monarchia.*

The present volume is the first of a series in which it is proposed to include all of Ockham's political works in a new and critical edition based on all available existing manuscripts. It contains three complete writings of Ockham, the important *Octo quaestiones de potestate papae,* which fills more than half the volume; the significant defense of the right of Edward III of England to demand subsidies from the clergy of his realm *etiam invito Papa;* the brief *Consultatio de causa matrimoniali,* concerned with the emperor's right to dispense with the alleged impediments to the proposed marriage of his son Louis to Margaret, Countess of Tirol; and finally the first six chapters of the *Opus nonaginta dierum,* the earliest and one of the most important of Ockham's political writings, second in size only to the incomplete *Dialogus,* the largest and in many ways the most important of all his political works.

In the *Octo quaestiones* Ockham gives us probably the completest surviving contemporary summary of all the arguments of the early fourteenth century both for and against the theory of a *plenitudo potestatis* in the pope. In many places his own arguments against the papal pretensions are stated among others, as appears by comparing them with his later *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate;* but the arguments on both sides are summarized, and Ockham throughout professes only to give the opinions then current, usually prefaced or followed by such expressions as *videtur quibusdam, secundum quosdam, respondent quidam, ut dicunt quidam,* and the like.

The first of the eight questions is as to whether the supreme authority, both spiritual and secular, may be held by the same man, whether *regulariter* or only *casualiter.* In the second chapter under this question there is an interesting indication of the prominence in all the political thought of the time of the typical medieval notion of all supremacy as judicial and not legislative as in modern

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times. Thus, it is said, *qui absque omni exceptione habet saecularia* IUDICARE, *habet in saecularibus et temporalibus plenitudinem potestatis.* Dr. Sikes's interesting suggestion that Ockham's principal antipapal arguments under this head are directed largely against the *Determinatio compendiosa de jurisdictione imperii,* now attributed to Ptolommeo of Lucca, seems very probable; as well as his observation that the arguments under question 3 are directed to the important *De jure regni et imperii* of Lupold von Bebenberg, to whom Ockham seems to be referring specifically in another connection, in chapter III of question 4 when speaking of "a certain venerable doctor". Such references to contemporary writings still available enable us in some cases to compare Ockham's summaries with the sources from which they were apparently derived, and this comparison seems to confirm the general impression that Ockham's analysis of the great political controversy of his day, while possibly at times tendentious, is not only comprehensive and exhaustive but on the whole generally accurate.

Of the remaining *quaestiones* in the treatise, one deals with the important question of whether the authority of lay rulers comes from God immediately or only *mediante potestate papali;* another with the dispute as to whether by Christ's original institution the pope has authority to entrust secular government to the emperor or to kings, and whether without such papal authorization they have any right to rule. Another touches the difference between the emperor and Pope John XXII on the question of whether a mere election as King of the Romans or emperor confers a legitimate right to rule. Others are concerned with the true effect of the consecration by an ecclesiastic of a ruler claiming title by hereditary right, whether such consecration places such a ruler under the domination of the ecclesiastic who crowns him, and whether the consecration itself is valid if performed by any archbishop whatsoever. The last point discussed is whether a canonical election as King of the Romans confers the same right as hereditary succession in kingdoms where this rule prevails.

Of the remaining three works, the *Opus nonaginta dierum* is doubtless the most important. It is concerned with the struggle of the Franciscans with John XXII on the great question of ecclesiastical poverty, in which most of the polemical writers of the time were more or less involved.

When complete this first critical edition of Ockham's political works must prove to be one of the most significant contributions to the knowledge of medieval political thought made in our time. The skill and scholarship of the late Dr. Sikes and his fellow editors as shown in this first volume are beyond all praise. This edition is a credit to its editors, to the great university press from which it issues, and to the British Academy and the Tout Memorial Fund, whose generous contributions in troubled times have made it possible. All serious students of the history of ideas will unite in hoping that the lamented death of Dr. Sikes and the dislocation caused by the war may not unduly delay the continuation and completion of this great work.

Harvard University C. H. McILWAIN

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THE BOOK OF MARGERY KEMPE. The Text from the Unique MS. owned by Colonel W. Butler-Bowdon. Volume I. Edited with Introduction and Glossary by Prof. *Sanford Brown Meech*. With Prefatory Note by *Hope Emily Allen* and Notes and Appendices by *Sanford Brown Meech* and *Hope Emily Allen*. [Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 212.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. lxviii, 441. $6.50.)

THE *Book of Margery Kempe* is a valuable addition to our sources of knowledge of English mysticism and of the English language as spoken in East Anglia during the first half of the fifteenth century. It contains an edition of a unique fifteenth century manuscript identified in 1934 by Miss Allen. The work is a combination of autobiography and edification and claims to have been taken down by two successive amanuenses from the dictation of Margery. The narrative, though not strictly chronological, follows the peregrinations and spiritual experiences of Margery through some forty years. Her reminiscences show her to have been vain, illiterate, physically and nervously overstrained, but devout, much traveled, forceful, and talented. She was born about 1373 in Lynn, the daughter of a prominent citizen, was married, about 1393, to another citizen, and spent most of her life in that town, with occasional visits to the Holy Land and Italy, to Campostella, to Norway, and to Germany. She seems to have got into trouble periodically with other people, apparently because of her peculiar behavior growing out of her neuroticism, her persecution mania, and the nature of her mystical visions.

In a prefatory note (pp. liii-lxviii) and two appendixes (pp. 376-80) Miss Allen contributes valuable bibliographical and critical observations on Margery's connection with the history of mysticism in England and on the Continent, especially in Germany. Margery's *Book,* as Miss Allen points out, belongs in a list of early English pietistic works extending from the *Ancren Riwle* through Richard Rolle of Hampole, whose writings have been the subject of important studies by Miss Allen (see also Miss Evelyn Underhill, "Medieval Mysticism", *Cambridge Medieval History,* VII [1932], 777 ff.). The extremes of religious austerity referred to on page 261, as well as other aspects of Margery's behavior, suggest the experiences of certain Celtic ascetics, attested in Irish documents (see Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* [London, 1932], pp. 89-103). Noteworthy among contemporary events related to Margery's narrative are: the feminist movement (pp. lvii and lix), the campaign against tithes, the pestilence (p. 337), the "apprehension felt in England on the score of some Continental heresies", and English relations with Germany in the fifteenth century, especially the difficulties with the Hansards and the Teutonic Order of Prussia (cf. *Die Hanse und England von Eduards III. bis auf Heinrichs VIII. Zeit,* Berlin, 1911 [Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- u. Seegeschichte, V], by Friedrich Schulz, whose name is misspelled on p. 344). Of Professor Meech's contributions to the volume, the most important are extensive notes and a discussion of the language, to which

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may now be added Miss Eva O. Golson's unpublished doctor's dissertation on "The Spelling System of the Glasgow MS. of 'The Canterbury Tales'" (Chicago, 1942). Miss Allen promises further results of her studies in medieval feminism and mysticism for a later volume.

University of Chicago TOM PEETE CROSS

THE GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS. By *Douglas C. McMurtrie*. With Translations of the Texts into English, based with Authority on the Compilation by Dr. *Karl Schorbach*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 239. $5.00.)

THE dispute over the European invention of printing, which raged with some fury in the nineteenth century, has quieted down into a general acceptance of the claims made for John Gutenberg. The problem of the Costeriana is still unsolved, and not for many years has any new documentary evidence been discovered which throws light on the technical questions of how, when, and by whom movable metal types were first used in Europe. What evidence there is has needed a deal of interpretation; if largely inferential, there are certain reliable records of episodes in the life of Gutenberg himself.

These records have been found in the archives of Mainz and Strasbourg, in vital records and in legal actions in which he was involved. Many of them have been destroyed in the upheavals of the French Revolution and the Franco-Prussian War, but not before copies had been made. In 1900 Dr. Schorbach of Mainz published the twenty-seven known documents in their original Alsatian and medieval Latin. But these dialects, being difficult of translation, were a serious barrier to an understanding of their contents.

When Mr. McMurtrie was preparing his history of printing which appeared as *The Golden Book*, he found it necessary, for a correct understanding of the invention, to have Schorbach's transcripts translated into English. The task was onerous, but with the assistance of several scholars familiar with the legal and linguistic jargon of the time it was finally accomplished. The result is that for the first time we have these primary sources available in English. The fidelity of the translations can only be assumed by the reviewer because of the obscurity of the original language, but the collaborators in the enterprise were competent scholars.

The longest of the documents, the Dritzehen suit, is given only in part, but the student will find a full translation and consideration in Fuhrmann's *Gutenberg and the Strasburg Documents of 1439* (New York, 1940). Mr. McMurtrie has confined his notes on the documents to a clear and pertinent statement preceding each; if excursus and text had been more distinctly set apart, it would have been better. A list of other works on the subject would have helped the student, but there is a good index.

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The recent five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing, coming, as it did, in the midst of war, failed of adequate recognition, especially in Germany. Among the few scholarly contributions to the occasion this first English version of Gutenberg source material is welcome and important.

Yale University CARL PURINGTON ROLLINS

Modern European History

AMERIGO: A COMEDY OF ERRORS IN HISTORY. By *Stefan Zweig*. Translated by *Andrew St. James*. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. 128. $2.00.)

IN 1926 Alberto Magnaghi suggested that the self-contradictory and incredible narratives printed and reprinted so often in Amerigo Vespucci's lifetime, telling of his voyage to the mainland of the New World in 1497, a year before Columbus went there, were the invention of printers anxious to concoct a best-seller. The theory was not wholly new. Las Casas (*Historia,* I, 140) thought Amerigo was probably an impostor but recognized the possibility that the wrong might have been done by whoever printed the *Quattuor navigationes*. Magnaghi with elaborate argument seeks to rehabilitate Vespucci as an honest man, a warm personal friend of Columbus, a skilled astronomical navigator, and one of the greatest explorers of all time. If he did actually explore the northern and eastern coast of the new continent from Maracaibo to the Rio de la Plata or perhaps almost to the Falkland Islands, then he deserved to have the region which we call Brazil named after him. Apparently only by error and confusion was the name America later extended to the entire hemisphere.

It is this theory of Magnaghi's that the late Stefan Zweig has here expounded with humor, lucidity, and superb narrative skill. He is a popularizer, erring in a few details and making some rather sweeping statements but giving, on the whole, a sound presentation of the most plausible Vespuccian hypothesis yet offered. Since Magnaghi's work has been little noticed by English-speaking historians, this is a service to scholarship. Moreover, Zweig knows that he is dealing with a hypothesis. His opening chapter speaks of the Vespucci problem as "a game of conjecture" and poses the question: "On which side, then, lies the truth—or, to be more careful—the greatest probability?"

There is a sequel of which Zweig apparently knew nothing. In 1937 Roberto Ridolfi published a newly discovered letter of Vespucci, which seems to refer indirectly to a 1497 voyage. Magnaghi, who has come to feel a sort of proprietary interest in his rehabilitated Vespucci, writes, in the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana,* of this "imprudente scoperta del Ridolfi" and bitingly condemns the document as a complete forgery. Thus the whole problem is thrown open again,

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at least for another round. It seems likely, however, that most of the restored portrait of Vespucci will stand despite some naïveté and special pleading on the part of Magnaghi.

Washington, D. C. W. J. WILSON

CESARE BORGIA, THE MACHIAVELLIAN PRINCE. By *Carlo Beuf*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 398. $3.50.)

"WHILE *Cesare Borgia* is carefully documented, and has notes and an extensive bibliography, it is definitely a book for the general reader rather than for the scholar." This statement from the jacket is not understatement: the book breaks no new ground but tells the tragic story in a captivating way.

The subject, of course, has all the ingredients of high tragedy and of melodrama: soaring ambition, lust, treachery, murder, battle, massacre, opulence, orgy, victory, ruin, against the background of the Vatican of Alexander VI and of Julius II. And the author adds ingredients of his own. How does he do it?

First of all, a cloud of mystery is thrown around the hero by the author's decision—stated tentatively and then bit by bit treated as established—that Cesare was not the son of Alexander VI. The evidence, we know from Woodward's biography, runs the other way, and we know too that it is not usual for tame fowls to hatch out an eagle. But the idea is intriguing and repeatedly recalled by the reference to Cesare as Alexander's "son". Similarly, the reader's reveries are stimulated by the reiterated suggestion that Cesare's affection for Lucrezia, which is commonly regarded as one of the few admirable qualities of the man, was not that of a brother for a sister but "that invisible and mysterious bond that united Lucrezia to her 'brother'" (p. 356). "He need not actually have been Lucrezia's lover to have been in love with her and jealous of her. . . . Could it be that her happiness with another man had become an unendurable torture to Cesare?" (p. 163).

Secondly, the general reader is attracted by the backgrounds of the picture, in short, by the scenery. When Cesare went to France to complete the negotiations with Louis XII for his "divorce" and his marriage to Charles VIII's widow, the description of Cesare's suite runs on for nearly two pages. It is a moving picture! "After them came sixteen beautiful chargers, led by hand, with trappings of gold, red and yellow brocade and bridles of jennets. . . . *Item* followed eighteen pages, each on a horse, sixteen dressed in crimson velvet and the other two in cloth of gold" (pp. 100-102). This from a contemporary eyewitness.

Thirdly, scenery is also specially constructed, even for the smallest pictures, and often with "sound effects" or appeals to the auditory sense as well as to the eye. When Cardinal Carvajal, Cesare's gaoler, let him escape and flee to Naples on a galley, the author writes: "No sooner was he safely on board than the galleon [*sic*] flying the yellow and red standard of Aragon and Castile hoisted sail" (p.

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349). "On a warm mid-July night, at about eleven o'clock, while the Piazza of St. Peter's was steeped in darkness and only the gurgling of the water in the great stone fountain broke the deep silence, Alfonso of Bisceglie, Lucrezia's nineteen year old husband, left the Vatican to return to his palace" (p. 157). "In the dim light of the winter stars several bodies dangling from improvised gallows swung in the cold wind" (p. 285). When the emissaries of Florence went to Urbino to confer with Cesare, they were met by his secretary, Agapito, at about an hour before midnight. "Wrapped in the throbbing darkness of the summer night, the twisted streets of Urbino were silent and deserted. . . . By dim-lit passages and halls decorated with the eagle of the Montefeltros, the three men came to the low doorway of Guidobaldo's study" (pp. 235-36).

Fourthly, the salacious features of the story are brought in with sophisticated jauntiness. Burchard's tales of the mares and of the orgy of the chestnuts are not omitted (pp. 209-10). The story of the kidnaping of Dorotea Caracciolo, "one of the most notable and buxom women of Italy", by some of Cesare's officers, which gets a couple of lines in Woodward, is given four pages—presumably as an analogue. "At last she went back to her patient and grateful captain . . . perhaps cherishing, at the bottom of her heart, the exhilarating memory of three years' captivity with the dashing young officer" (p. 185).

Finally, the parallel with the technique of Hitler—who is not mentioned—makes for contemporary relevance: "perfect co-ordination of movement, secrecy, and lightning speed" (p. 231); "he listens to few, decides alone and on the spur of the moment"; and "the servants of the Duke's success are, great order, great secrecy, great speed" (p. 262). The betrayal of Sinigaglia (pp. 281 ff.) is a purge, and the dungeons and secret executions take the place of the concentration camp.

The author of this fascinating book was not in vain a supervisor of foreign production for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (jacket).

University of Wisconsin G. C. Sellery

ST. ANDREWS FORMULARE, 1514-1546. Text transcribed and edited by *Gordon Donaldson* and *C. Macrae*. Volume I. [The Stair Society.] (Edinburgh: Printed for the Stair Society by J. Skinner and Company. 1942. Pp. xvii, 405.)

Master John Lauder, an ecclesiastical notary and much hated by John Knox for his activity in heresy trials, kept for his own guidance a kind of "Book of ecclesiastical styles", made up of over six hundred copies and some originals of summonses, writs, appeals, refutations, and other judicial proceedings in a day when the Catholic Church in Scotland still judged many matters later to be transferred to the civil courts. Most of the originals of the documents have been lost, and Lauder's copies are therefore more than usually valuable. They throw much light on social and religious conditions, church finances, indulgences, dispensations,

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etc. A great many are "monitions", instructions to parish priests to curse about everything from the sordid and immoral to the ridiculously trivial and inanimate. One of these monitions is in English. As an example of tall and fancy cursing in the vernacular the following paragraph may be quoted, and it is only a warm up for two pages that follow:

I curse thare heid and all the hairs of ther heid, I curse thare face, thare ene, thare mouth, thare neyse, thare tounge, thare teith, thare cragis, thare schulderis, thare breystis, thare hartis, thare stomokis, thare bakis, thare waymes, thare armys, thare leggis, thare handis, thare feyt, and everilk part of thare bodys fra the top of ther heides to the sole of ther feyt, before and behynde, within and without; I curse thame gangand, I curse thaim rydand, I curse thame standand, I curse thame sittand, I curse thaim eittand, I curse thaim drynkand, I curse thaim walkand, I curse thaim slepand, I curse thaim rysand, I curse thaim lyand, I curse thaim at hame, I curse thaim fra hayme, I curse thaim within the houssis, I curse tham without the houssis, I curse thare wyiffis, thare bayrnis and ther servandis participant with thame in thare evil and myscheiffus deidis; I uayry [curse] thare cornis, thare catall, thare woll, thare scheip, thare horsis, thare swyne, thare geyse, thare hennis, thare cokkis and all ther quyk gudis, I wayry thare hallis, thare chalmeris, thare beddis, thare kechynis, thare stabillis, thare bernys, thare byris, thare berneyardis, thare cailyardis, thare pleuchis, thare harrouis and all the gudis and houssis that ar necessar for thare sustentatioun and uelefare.

No wonder John Knox, who could do a little cursing on his own, hated Lauder, "a fed sow" and "a monster", when he appeared at the heresy trial of George Wishart in 1546 and read "all the lying menacings, his face running down with sweat and frothing at the mouth like a bear". The extract above and the Latin texts of monitions gave Lauder a head start in real "cursing by bell and candle". The editors recall that *Tristram Shandy* furnishes a sample of the same thing in the form of an excommunication. The Stair Society and the editors should be given all credit for carrying through the editing and publishing of this volume under very difficult circumstances. It is to be followed by a second from the same source.

Washington, D. C. GUY STANTON FORD

A DISCOURSE UPON THE EXPOSICION AND UNDERSTANDINGE OF STATUTES, WITH SIR THOMAS EGERTON'S ADDITIONS. Edited from Manuscripts in the Huntington Library by *Samuel E. Thorne,* Northwestern University School of Law. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1942. Pp. vii, 194. $5.00.)

THE *Discourse* is "the earliest treatise yet brought to light on the interpretation of statutes in England". It was written between 1557 and 1567 by an unknown author, who had collected from the Year Books the sayings and opinions of justices and serjeants on statutes. Sir Thomas Egerton, later Lord Ellesmere and lord chancellor, while still a student, made a copy of this treatise and continued to take notes and make comments on the subject until 1572. It is this copy and additions

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in the Ellesmere Manuscripts in the Huntington Library that Mr. Thorne has edited.

The *Discourse* and two short appendixes fill eighty pages. As a background Mr. Thorne has written a hundred-page introduction on the judicial use of statutes from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. While giving full credit to McIlwain, Plucknett, and others, he occasionally takes issue with them, and he has added considerable new material from the Year Books and early reports. The road is a long one from the thirteenth century, when Justice Hengham could stop a counsel who was expounding a statute with the remark, "we know better than you; we made it", to the eighteenth century, when Blackstone declared: "If the parliament will positively enact a thing to be done that is unreasonable, I know of no power . . . to control it". At first the courts freely enlarged, restricted, or even disregarded the language of a statute. At last they were restricted to learning the will of a sovereign parliament as expressed in the statute and applying it to the question before them.

Judicial interpretation of statutes touches upon legal and constitutional history, upon law and political theory. In the strict sense of the word the term is not applicable until after the legislation of Henry VIII, when the justices were beginning to realize that statutes formed a distinct body of law and that special rules were needed for their construction. At the time the *Discourse* was written, public law was just emerging from the field of private law, and parliament only recently had passed from a high court finding law to a legislative assembly making new law. The old Year Books were being given a new meaning. As Coke later said, "out of the old fields must come the new corne". There was much uncertainty at first, and theories were advanced which were later abandoned. For instance, it was said that tenants on the ancient demesne were not bound by acts of parliament because they were not represented there and did not contribute to the pay of members. Common-law remedies could be removed by negative words of a statute, not by affirmative. While speaking of the authority of parliament as absolute, the justices still held themselves competent to modify the words of a statute by grammatical construction, by principles of equity and common reason. They allowed themselves much latitude in declaring the intention of the lawmakers. Penal statutes, they said, must be closely construed. But they held that since parliament can do no wrong, statutes which were harmful in their results could be ignored. They could also be disregarded on the ground of "iniquitye" or "absurditye". Likewise general words of a statute did not destroy private rights. In our day this has been changed into the rule that a statute which encroaches upon private rights must be strictly construed. However, many rules of interpretation which still obtain were being formulated.

University of Kansas C. C. Crawford

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JOHN FOXE AND HIS BOOK. By *J. F. Mozley*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xi, 254. $3.50.)

SPACE in this volume is about evenly divided between the man and his book. As for the book, it is none other than the famous *Book of Martyrs,* a household treasure in English Protestant households for nearly four centuries. As for the man, John Foxe, he is a character about whom historians have disagreed ever since his book first saw the light in the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Mozley has made him live again and has presented a very convincing as well as a very sympathetic picture of him. It is the only really satisfactory picture of him in print, for although Josiah Pratt, who knew most of what was to be known about Foxe, published a biography of him over fifty years ago, it is a dull book, a revised and improved edition of a still duller book by an earlier biographer, George Townsend. Current opinion about Foxe has been largely based upon the later estimates of S. R. Maitland, J. S. Brewer, and James Gairdner, all of them careful historians in most matters but all of them virulent in their attacks upon the integrity of the great martyrologist. Maitland was the most virulent of them all, and a large part of Mr. Mozley's book is devoted to the business of calling Maitland to task. Particularly, Mozley shows that Maitland was entirely mistaken in rejecting the authenticity of the life of Foxe written by his son Simeon, who outlived his father sixty years, became a distinguished London physician, and was for seven years the president of the Royal College of Physicians.

The record of John Foxe's life is that of a simple, unworldly scholar who took his B.A. from Brasenose College, Oxford, and who, during the closing years of Henry VIII's reign, was a fellow at Magdalen College, Oxford, and for a time a tutor in the household of Sir Thomas Lucy, better known for his legendary connection with young Will Shakespeare. During most of Edward's reign Foxe was tutor in turn to the young duke of Norfolk, who was later to die a traitor's death but who remained a staunch friend of Foxe throughout.

The significant period in Foxe's life, however, was the five years he spent in exile during Mary's reign. It was then that he wrote a large part of his history of the English martyrs and then that he published the first installment of his masterpiece. He returned to England in 1559 and lived a quiet, uneventful life under Elizabeth for nearly thirty years, spending much of his time in revising and bringing out successive editions of his book. He died in 1587, a man well known and well beloved. He numbered among his friends Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, the earl of Leicester, and Sir Francis Drake.

Of the book itself, notwithstanding that it became the great instrument for Protestant propaganda, it is clear enough that it was not deliberately provoked for that purpose by Elizabeth's Protestant counselors, as Catholic historians often suggest. Foxe indeed began it before the death of Edward VI, and the first part of it was nearly ready when he fled overseas early in 1554. Furthermore, it was a

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gigantic folio volume of nearly 1,800 pages and much too costly for popular distribution.

Mr. Mozley spends much time in dissecting current criticism about the book. Foxe, he admits, was an enthusiast with a strong bias against Roman Catholicism but was also, he insists, an honest scholar, indefatigable in research and a great collector of material that but for him would have perished. As a case in point, many of the letters of Stephen Gardiner, one of Foxe's bitter enemies, survive only in his text. The fact is that, if proper allowance be made for those faults in Foxe which he shared with virtually all his contemporaries, his book turns out to be one of the most valuable sources extant for one of the most stirring times in English history.

Mr. Mozley in his note on authorities contributes some additions to Miss Garrett's list of the Marian exiles and, in an appendix, a useful list of Foxe's other writings that do not, unhappily, include a life of Queen Elizabeth, which he once thought of writing but never achieved.

Washington, D. C. CONYERS READ

GEORGE GASCOIGNE, ELIZABETHAN COURTIER, SOLDIER, AND POET. By *C. T. Prouty*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 351. $3.75.)

PROFESSOR Prouty has placed in his debt all students of the sixteenth century, both of history and of literature. For these two subjects are complementary; in the literature the historian finds his period articulate, and by the history the student of literature finds his comprehensible. A case in point is the life and writings of George Gascoigne. A member of the courts of law, a courtier, a soldier, and a poet, his career embraces all the aspects of Elizabethan society. Yet until recently the outlines were obscure. Professor Prouty has not only summarized all modern investigation; he has spent seven years in original research. Now we know where we stand.

Therefore the student may be safely directed to a consideration of the problems implicit in the life of George Gascoigne. There he will find an eyewitness account of the disastrous Dutch expeditions and a list of abuses, however consciously biased, of the early years of Elizabeth. But this is not all. In his admiration of the foreign policy of Elizabeth, with her alternate courting of Spain and France, he is apt to forget the domestic corollary of this same policy that spelled chaos at home. So his attention should be called to Appendix IV, where Professor Prouty has unearthed the records of thirty-four law suits between the years 1562 and 1568. As by the confiscation of the church property a quarter of a century before approximately one third of the total national wealth had been redistributed throughout the nation, the validity of the titles to the lands was affected by the oscillations of the government. And as Coke had not yet become attorney general

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and as Blackstone was more than a century in the future, all law was in a state of uncertainty; a careful study of the social conditions of those early years would be interesting. But the English sovereign is *de facto* head of the English church, so that ecclesiastical matters were also fluid. This is illustrated by Gascoigne's marriage. In 1545, when Gascoigne was about six years old, Elizabeth Bacon married William Bretton, who died in January, 1559. Three months later she contracted a "pretended" marriage with Edward Boyes, a marriage that was accepted by her own father. And in November, 1561, she married Gascoigne. Then follows a law suit to determine whose wife she is. The only possible inference is that the ecclesiastic law was also in a state of chaos, and this will help to explain Leicester's "seduction" of Douglas Howard. To repeat, a study of the early years of the reign of Elizabeth would be revealing.

From the point of view of literature Professor Prouty gives a welcome discussion of Gascoigne's handling of his dramatic material, of his position as, in Professor Bradner's phrase, the first Elizabethan novelist, and of his change in attitude late in life. Curiously enough, there is only casual allusion to the *Certain Notes of Instruction,* a short tract which shows Gascoigne's interest in the technical side of his art. And he postpones fully answering the questions involved in the publication of the *Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* until he publishes his own edition of that work. May it come soon! In any case, this present work, from either the historical or the literary standpoint, deserves careful consideration.

Yale University JOHN M. BERDAN

THE REIGN OF KING PYM. By *J. H. Hexter,* Queens College of the City of New York. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. 245. $2.75.)

To historians from Clarendon through Gardiner, John Pym has remained a powerful, ominous, yet vague figure. Professor Notestein's diaries have brought him into better relief as a political strategist, and Professor Newton has made clear his Puritan zeal. Yet, with the present lack of personal records, John Pym remains at best the incarnation of an idea and at worst a bogey rather than a creature of flesh and blood.

But thanks to Dr. Hexter's excellent book the real political genius and purpose of this sixty-year-old veteran of Stuart parliaments is clear. John Pym now emerges as the skillful, patient architect of the machine that was shortly to conquer Charles I and of the political faith which was eventually to humble his sons.

Although he had been a power in politics long before the calling of the Long Parliament, the reign of "King Pym" lasted a bare year of his life, the months between November, 1643, and his death in December of the following year. Yet in this brief period his accomplishment was monumental; in the words of Dr. Hexter, Pym had "either pushed through or thrown open to discussion almost

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every important administrative, fiscal, and military ordinance enacted by Parliament during the Civil War". Gardiner claimed that Pym did this as leader of the war party in the commons. To Dr. Hexter this answer is both untrue and impossible. Pym reigned through a middle group, and two thirds of the present volume is spent proving the existence of the middle party, charting its brief career, and attempting to define its membership and principles. Then follow a comparison of this middle group with other civil war parties and a discussion of its ultimate contribution to the development of the English constitution.

To lay bare the wellsprings of the Long Parliament Dr. Hexter adopts the methods of the chemist: runs are made; a series of divisions sampled, joined to the personal comments of the diaries, and projected against the known facts in order to expose the inner workings of parliament.

In this fashion Dr. Hexter uncovers his middle party, a small nucleus of under forty members, skillfully augmented by Pym's borrowing from both the war and the peace party on either side. Though this critical year, 1643-44, saw the religious issue momentarily pushed into the background, a common interest in Puritanism, family, and connection all helped to determine the vague membership of the middle group. Essex was its general, Pym its political strategist, and Hampden the vital link in its tenuous unity.

Throughout its brief career as a party, its fragility was evident. By July, 1643, the Puritan preachers and the war hawks were out of hand, feeling against the discouraged Essex was rising, and the middle party almost went to pieces. By a last, supreme example of his political artistry, Pym pulled the group together, unified the military effort, placated Essex, launched the Gloucester campaign, and shepherded the Solemn League and Covenant through parliament, all with the hand of death upon him.

In spite of the fissiparous tendencies of all revolutionary pressure groups and their quick descent through mirage, faction, and disillusion into oblivion, Dr. Hexter would assign the middle party a high place. Its principles were best set forth in the Grand Remonstrance, and it is this program which Dr. Hexter sees the men of good sense reaffirming at every crisis until it is ultimately triumphant. In 1657 it spoke through those who would legitimatize the Protector's rule; in 1660 reasonable men saw it as the reply to fanatic reaction; in 1688 its moderation finally made the revolution glorious.

As a politician Pym takes impressive stature and real character in Dr. Hexter's hands. His success was due primarily to his genius as a "political tactician" and engineer and to the honest realism of his moderation. Pym "never deceived, deserted or tricked his friends", and he never forgot that the first purpose of political activity was "to take care to remedy our present necessity".

This is a good and valuable book. In the first section is displayed great competence at meticulous historical reconstruction and in the last pages the brilliant projection of an idea. Even here Dr. Hexter has the self-control not to ride his

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hobby too hard. Just as the middle party would seem to be acquiring more permanence than its demonstrably short and delicate life might warrant, the author sensibly admits that the party's permanent contribution in ideology was really the property of all moderate men. Finally, this book is a delight to read; it is comforting to know that Pym never "quit plugging", heartwarming to see the pathetic fallacy of the blood bond so trenchantly examined. Narrative of parliamentary affairs can be devilishly dull; Mr. Hexter's is always sparkling. The "physiognomy" of Carlyle's "remarkablest" of parliaments, how it worked during perhaps its most vital year, is now revealed.

Yale University T. C. Mendenhall II

VOLTAIRE AND BECCARIA AS REFORMERS OF CRIMINAL LAW. By *Marcello T. Maestro.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 177. $2.00.)

In this short study the state of the law, in theory and practice, in the major European countries at the time of Beccaria's *Treatise on Crimes and Punishments* (1764), is quickly surveyed, followed by analyses of the changing climate of public opinion and of specific acts mitigating legal severities. The thesis of the book is that Voltaire, as the leading eighteenth century political philosopher, prepared "a favorable ground for the development of the reform movement" (p. 157), while Beccaria furnished the basic ideas and arguments.

Dr. Maestro rightly stresses the fact that the eighteenth century belongs primarily to the French, and that Beccaria's ideas, which were later partly incorporated into the Code Napoleon, would have been less influential without their popularization by Voltaire and other leading French propagandists. By contrasting different countries the author shows that Catherine of Russia, well in advance of many rulers of western Europe, was unable to introduce her program into a resistant Russian society. Frederick the Great, however, could carry out reform measures even before their advocacy by Voltaire. Prussian society was ready for their adoption. Similarly, in Sweden the mood of the country welcomed sensible legal reform.

The reviewer is surprised to find that Dr. Maestro does not establish a closer contact between his two major reformers and their counterparts in England. Jonas Hanway, John Howard, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Sir James Mackintosh, for example, drew on Continental literature and practice to strengthen their armory of positive proposals for the modernization of prisons and of police administration and for the mitigation of criminal sentences. Up to the French Revolution, British reformers welcomed Continental ideas, partly because the English social order had elements of stability and rigidity which required hot poker penetration and vigorous assault.

The author places the Roman Catholic Church as an enemy of legal reform

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on the Continent (pp. 34, 37, 39, 42, 86, 152) and, by inference, includes the Anglican Church in Great Britain. The Anglican cannot thus easily be classified, for the reformer was often either a clergyman or a prominent layman. A more careful study of the English Establishment than the author has evidenced in his monograph would preclude this too easy assumption. His treatment of the Anglican raises questions as to his conclusions on the Roman Catholic Church with regard to the reform of criminal law.

The volume is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the growth of humanitarianism in Europe.

University of California at Los Angeles FRANK J. KLINGBERG

FREDERICK THE GREAT. By *Pierre Gaxotte*. Translated by *R. A. Bell*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. Pp. 420. $3.75.)

HERE is a first-rate American republication of a third-rate English translation of a second-rate French biography of Prussia's most famous king. It is a little surprising that Gaxotte's *Frédéric II* should have been considered worth translating, and more than a little that the Yale University Press has thought this translation worth reprinting.

Mr. Bell has worked hard to turn both Gaxotte's French and Frederick's into colloquial English; but his colloquialisms are too English to be accurate, and his determined attempt at informality succeeds often only in being undignified. Both *taille* and *ventre,* for example, are rather gratuitously translated "belly". Frederick always "fell foul of" those with whom he quarreled. No matter whether a suppliant withdrew from the king's presence, a foreign ambassador left Berlin, a body of troops retreated, or a flock of startled waterfowl flew away, they are all alike said to have "made off", not hastily but "in a hurry". A man *mort et très mort* is "dead, dead as a doornail" (p. 174). *Ledit* Arnold is "this fellow Arnold" (p. 300). *Une petite fugue* is called not a lark but "a spree" (p. 307). *Un honnête homme* becomes "a gentleman" (p. 313). *Tarte de la crême* is naturalized as "a nice cup of tea" (p. 329). If *mazettes* had really been only "rookies", perhaps they might have been forgiven for some of their ineptitude (p. 333). *Il fallut combattre* seems in its context (p. 337) to mean simply that "he had to fight", but it is translated "The fight was on." *Grommelait* is "groused", and *prendre* is not to accept a post but to "take on" one (p. 345). Eyes *de travers* are described as "squinting" (p. 362).

Some inaccuracies more serious than these occur in the translation, as in the use of the words "undertaken" and "as yet" on page 308 and "vulgar" on page 309. Frederick's secretary of legation and chargé d'affaires in London in 1756 was not Mitchell but Abraham Michell (pp. 308, 309). Mr. Bell seems also to have quite missed the meaning of several significant phrases, such as *tant que*

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nous sommes (p. 237), *la jeune littérature Allemande* (p. 238), *volontaires malgré eux* (p. 325), and *l'abondance de la documentation* (p. 401). A letter to the publishers, asking for information about the translator, was not answered.

The book is better than the translation, although it suffers somewhat in balance and emphasis from having been based so largely upon published materials available in France. Voltaire, for example, figures much more prominently in this life of Frederick than he ever did in Frederick's life. Frederick's correspondence with him, in which neither was usually either honest or at ease, is extensively quoted. The king's letters to his brother Henry, on the other hand, are rarely noticed, although they far outweigh those to Voltaire both in political importance and as revelations of his mind and character. The unpublished documents, of which not only the Prussian but the French archives and the British Museum and Public Record Office possess so great a store, have not been used. There are no footnotes, but a rather extended bibliographical note is appended in the original and reproduced in the translation without revision even of such items as the description of the *Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen,* of which the author had seen only forty-four volumes when he wrote the note but of which forty-six had appeared before this book was published.

The biography is personal but unsympathetic. All sorts of minute and inconsequential items are given about the royal diet, digestion, diseases, and character faults; but the reader has to hunt diligently for signs of greatness in the king as he is pictured here. None of his chicaneries is too petty, none of his villainies too great, to be preserved for the record, none of his blunders concealed or excused. One is left wondering only how he succeeded when he did and why he has been considered great. Approximately two hundred pages are given to the prelude of his life, only 150 to the great drama of its middle period, and nearly a hundred to the epilogue. Chapters are arranged in roughly chronological sequence, but within chapters chronology is disconcertingly disregarded.

For one important enterprise only, the author has given Frederick more credit —if credit it be—than he deserves. He says or implies (p. 362) that the king and Emperor Joseph II agreed in September, 1770, to send Prince Henry to Russia on the "ticklish mission" of proposing joint Prussian-Austrian mediation between Russia and Turkey. Prince Henry had gone to Stockholm two months before Frederick and Joseph met at Moravian Neustadt, and he went from there to Russia on an invitation from Catherine II which the king welcomed but had not expected; and the first partition of Poland was more Henry's work than Frederick's.

The American edition of the book is beautiful. Print, paper, end-sheet maps, index, and binding are worthy of better material—just as Frederick deserves a better biography.

University of Wisconsin CHESTER V. EASUM

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KINGS & DESPERATE MEN: LIFE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Louis Kronenberger*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xvi, 323, viii. $3.50.)

A prefatory note admits frankly that this survey of eighteenth century England "makes no claims to scholarship". At the outset the author also clearly delimits his field of inquiry. Omitting many of the possible ramifications of his subject—wars and treaties, economic forces, and philosophic thought, for example—he undertakes to give his readers a lively impression of English manners and morals during the first eighty-nine years of the eighteenth century, mainly by portraying the characters of those individual men and women who were most influential in shaping the course of the national history. His method, to use his own phrasing, is descriptive. That he succeeds in writing a fascinating book even the churliest critic would not deny. There is not a dull moment in the entire program. In a swiftly moving panorama the eighteenth century comes to life again as one after another of the great personalities in politics, literature, art, and religion parade across the stage at the bidding of the historian.

Whether the impression obtained from this representation is altogether trustworthy is open to doubt. Occasionally an error crops up in a statement of fact, as when John Gay's well-known ballad about black-eyed Susan is attributed to Henry Carey. But slips of this kind can easily be overlooked. Special students are likely to be more critical of some deeper-seated inaccuracies. Mr. Kronenberger knows better, perhaps, than any of his critics do the dangers involved in making history as entertaining as this is. It is difficult to be brief without generalizing too freely. It is more difficult to be brilliant without sacrificing the fine shades of historical truth to epigrammatic smartness. For conciseness and pungency of phrase Pope himself, the master of the *multum in parvo,* could hardly have improved upon Mr. Kronenberger's characterization of the male and female politicians who counseled Queen Anne: "Scarcely anyone was not a profligate or a slut." This tickles the ears of the groundlings, but is it true? Speaking of this same group but recognizing the need of some qualification, the author observes: "Not everybody, of course, was treacherous; there were plenty of men who were merely fanatical." Traitors and fanatics only—truly a mad world, my masters! Such passages—and they are numerous—not only illustrate the danger of hasty generalization but point to the radical fault in this conspectus, Mr. Kronenberger's determination to see nothing good. Editor and apparently disciple of La Rochefoucauld, he approaches the notable English men and women of the eighteenth century with his mind made up that these profligates and sluts ideally confirm that cynical view of human nature promulgated by the French maximist. This is no novel attitude, and actually there is much evidence to support it, as anyone knows from having read the Augustan satirists; but, as the satirists themselves knew, this is not the whole truth. Human motives were mixed then as they have been at all times, good and evil, and therefore difficult to disentangle. Mr. Kronenberger ought to have guarded against a fault which he attributes, quite correctly,

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to Dr. Johnson, namely, that the Ursa Major passed "absolute judgments on questions that were merely relative". A student of history ought to weigh all of the available evidence carefully before asserting that Pope was almost entirely without human instincts. Only those readers who are unfamiliar with the humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century—a movement recorded not only in the literature of sensibility and benevolence but in the solid accomplishment of important social reforms—will agree that Englishmen of the time had no sense of philanthropy. For diversion I know few historical studies superior to *Kings & Desperate Men,* but I would not recommend it to those who are intent mainly on knowing the full truth about the character of the English people in the eighteenth century.

University of Minnesota C. A. Moore

VICTORIAN PRELUDE: A HISTORY OF ENGLISH MANNERS, 1700-1830. By *Maurice J. Quinlan.* [Number 155 of the Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 301. $3.00.)

Mr. Quinlan illustrates the revolution in manners with which his book is concerned by the story of Sir Walter Scott's aunt, who, on rereading the novels of Mrs. Behn, remarked, "But is it not odd that I, an old woman of eighty and upwards, sitting alone, feel myself ashamed to read a book which sixty years ago I have heard read aloud for large circles consisting of the first and most creditable society in London?" He maintains that "not until the period of the Great War of 1914-18 did similarly rapid social changes occur", and though no attempt is made to trace every part of the subject, "the purpose of this volume is to show that the social pattern changed as a result of changes in opinions and convictions". Concluding, Mr. Quinlan asks what produced Victorianism and, what he feels peculiar to Victorians, "the conviction that the English were the chosen people elected to enjoy the fruits of virtue at home and to rule over palm and pine abroad"—a thesis, by the way, that could be modified considerably by statements from Cromwell, Milton, or others.

No one circumstance was responsible for the new order. Conditions had changed because various forces had combined to alter public opinion. The conservative reaction to the French Revolution, the Evangelical revival, the influence of aggressive societies and propagandist literature, the role of the model female, Sunday Schools and monitorial systems, censorship and the stifling of free opinion —all these, combined with other circumstances, had mutually contributed to the growth of stricter standards. Even the industrial revolution had played a part, for more rapid means of communication . . . had undoubtedly hastened the dynamics of a changing society.

Victorian Prelude, however, is not concerned with possible explanations of revolution but with literary reflections of manners and morals at the moment when the

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eighteenth century is vanishing in a Victorian transformation. Mr. Quinlan has quarried successfully in such varied sources as the *Edinburgh Review,* the memoirs of Lackington, Young, and Place, to whom even Dr. Johnson was not quite respectable, in the horrid records of expurgators like Lumtre and Aitken, who purified Shakespeare and Donne amongst others in the interest of elegance and prudery, in the literature distributed by the Religious Tract Society, which has apparently hardly changed its methods in a century and a quarter, and in the nauseating chronicles of the *Fairchild Family* and *The Dairyman's Daughter.* Yet the book is, on the whole, free from exaggeration or from disdain, though the reader might have welcomed more comparative material: after all, our own inhibitions in reporting monarchical scandals in 1936 are considerably greater than those of the reporters of 1820.

The subtitle of *Victorian Prelude* is misleading: the first eighty years are summarized in less than forty pages, the next twenty in sixty, the last thirty in about 180. This chronology is as arbitrary as it is unmanageable, and the author quite rightly ignores it everywhere but in the table of contents and devotes himself to the kernel of the matter, the rapid acceleration of change from the death of Wesley to the accession of George IV, selecting his appropriate quotations from men of varying generations. A hurried survey, however, might do less than justice to the erudition and scope of a book that is a valuable contribution to the history of manners. Though not a profound analysis of historical causation it is an excellent guide to all kinds of material which the political historian might overlook.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

NAPOLEON SPEAKS. By *Albert Carr.* Translation of Napoleonic Documents by *Julia Van Huele.* (New York: Viking Press. 1941. Pp. 392. $3.00.)

"A Napoleon and a Hitler may be poles apart in terms of individual psychology. But the powerful social and economic forces which hold these men in their grasp have much in common, with the result that remarkable parallels appear in their historical behavior" (p. 11). These words explain the author's reason for adding another to the long list of books dealing with Napoleon Bonaparte. It is inevitable that Napoleon, always a fascinating subject for biographers, should draw the attention of a generation which is witnessing the careers of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, and Carr believes that these "contemporary Iron Men" necessarily regard Napoleon as "their great prototype".

The surprising characteristic of the book is that the reader is left almost entirely to make his own comparisons between the two periods and between Napoleon and Hitler. A few contemporary catchwords or phrases, such as "blitzkrieg", "appeasers", "Maginot Line", are introduced, and the relationship between Napoleon and Alexander after Tilsit is belatedly and misleadingly christened "the Paris-Moscow Axis". These examples, however, are not typical of the work, which in

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reality is much more accurately described by its title, for the author makes no great effort to intrude his own opinions and absolutely no attempt to pursue strained interpretations or forced comparisons between men and periods a century apart. Only in the very brief introduction and epilogue does Carr undertake to relate Napoleon's career to the general phenomenon of dictatorship. His conservative conclusion and personal sentiments concerning the historical significance of that career are summed up in the words: "The Napoleonic example was set for all time, with its glorification of naked power, and its fundamental contempt for democratic idealism" (p. 382).

The great bulk of the book is essentially another biography of Napoleon with copious quotations from his own words. These quotations are well chosen, though for the most part easily accessible elsewhere, and are held together by a text that is written with considerable vividness yet tempered with unusual restraint and moderation. Napoleon is neither romanticized nor vilified. A few extravagant statements find their way into the book. In connection with Napoleon's stay with Josephine in Milan in 1796, Carr writes: "Two days of rapture are his—and off he dashes again to destroy a few score thousand ill-advised Austrians" (p. 138). Almost necessarily there are omissions. In particular, scarcely even a glimpse is given of life in France in the time of the empire. In general, *Napoleon Speaks* cannot be regarded as a monument of painstaking research or a definitive treatment of any aspect of Napoleon's career, but it is a pleasing, straightforward, and timely treatment, more readable than such biographies as Fournier's, not so highly colored as that of Ludwig.

The work is not provided with references, and the bibliography is sketchy, but the writer does not profess to have made an exhaustive study of his subject. Incidentally, he has come to the writing of history by the path of research in chemistry and economics, and the resulting product is very creditable. So also is the translation of the documents by Julia Van Huele.

Bowdoin College NATHANIEL C. KENDRICK

THE FALL OF THE NAPOLEONIC KINGDOM OF ITALY (1814). By *R. John Rath,* Mississippi State College for Women. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 247. $3.00.)

THIS is an excellent monograph based on a thorough exploitation of Austrian and Italian archival materials and on comprehensive study of the published sources and literature in German, Italian, French, and English. In the assembling and weighing of evidence the book displays a fine critical sense throughout. Nowhere does the author go beyond his evidence. After an initial chapter sketching the formation and organization of the Kingdom of Italy by Napoleon, Dr. Rath traces the forces that led to its overthrow; the military and diplomatic activities of the

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Allied powers, the growth of a sentiment for Italian independence among a small but influential fraction of the population. The activities of Italian writers, Allied propagandists, and secret societies in fomenting this spirit are carefully analyzed.

Following the abdication of Napoleon, Eugene Beauharnais tried to hold Lombardy for himself. The pent-up bitterness against French rule, stirred up by the "Austrian" and "Pure Italian" parties in Milan, burst forth in the revolution of April 20. This revolt completely defeated Prince Eugene's schemes, and the provisional government hoped it would result in an independent Lombard state. The net result, however, of the movement for independence was to bring about annexation to Austria. Possibly the news of the revolt, certainly the fear of the "Jacobin spirit" which preceded it, convinced Metternich that Austria would have to hold Lombardy the better to protect Venetia and to maintain an Italy divided into petty states.

The great distinction between Venetia, which Metternich demanded for the House of Habsburg when Austria entered the coalition against Napoleon, and Lombardy, which the Austrian chancellor did not decide to annex until April, 1814, runs like a red thread through Dr. Rath's work. This distinction has indeed been noted by earlier writers, but much new evidence is assembled in support of it. Chapter IV traces the establishment of Austrian government in Venetia immediately after the military occupation late in 1813. During this time and for some months later, Austrian generals and propagandists were talking to the Lombards about independence, and not with intentional insincerity. Especially worthy of commendation is Dr. Rath's careful scholarship in establishing the approximate date of Metternich's decision to hold Lombardy (pp. 184-91).

The critical notes and references, the carefully compiled index and bibliography, together with the fine scholarship, make this monograph a finished piece of workmanship.

University of California HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES ARBUTHNOT. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by *A. Aspinall.* [Camden Third Series, Volume LXV.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1941. Pp. xviii, 268.)

THIS collection forms a valuable addition to the numerous compilations of the time, such as the letters of George IV, the papers of Wellington, Huskisson, Bathurst, and others. It also extends the series contained in *The Formation of Canning's Ministry* by the same editor.

While letters of the Arbuthnots have frequently been cited by historians, their value could hardly be appreciated until now, when they may be seen as a whole. For Charles Arbuthnot, whose "urbanity and sincerity" were more conspicuous than lofty ambitions, remained satisfied with minor preferments. His real impor-

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tance lay in a personal attendance upon the prime minister, Lord Liverpool, when, as he afterward asserted, "all the patronage of government passed through my hands". Under different conditions he was no less serviceable in turn to the duke of Wellington, while his wife, if not always so discreet, was for a period as influential as he. All such letters are illustrative of a preferred method of communication in matters of public business, when, for example, a prime minister could reach all his colleagues through an adroit intermediary, and an applicant for honors could be the more sure of gaining attention. Often the letters were copied and passed around, nor were those marked confidential or private always kept secret. Even the franking privilege was solicited among friends.

The correspondence introduces us to the high Tory circles of the time before and after 1830, when the party was visibly breaking. To the Arbuthnots, Wellington stood as the heroic leader against the distrusted factions of Brunswickers and Canningites. A current aspersion on the reputation of Canning, long attributed to the authorship of Arbuthnot, lay in the allegation that the minister while serving the Tories was treacherously intriguing with the Whigs. No such aspersion, however, appears in Arbuthnot's writings, though just such an accusation is contained in a letter of Lord Bathurst (no. 39). Next to Canning, Huskisson was the most difficult member, whose ambition to be included in the cabinet proved to be irresistible. Peel, characteristically cool, aloof, and sometimes evasive, was the despair of his followers, so that it needed all the patience and tact of an Arbuthnot to keep him in friendly relations with other leaders. The radicals, who were apparently not much feared at first, came to be blamed as the great stigma on the Whig party. When a coalition of moderate Tories and Whigs was once proposed, Arbuthnot sadly reflects, "who the best whigs are I am to learn". In similar vein, with more or less prejudice, are running comments on most public questions, although little attention was paid to the prevalent agricultural and industrial unrest. A trenchant letter of Lord Palmerston, however, touches the sore point of Irish tenantry.

After due allowance is made for the economies of wartime publication, the editorial work of Mr. Aspinall manifests his usual competence. It may still be regretted that limitations of paper and space have not permitted a greater abundance of footnotes or a topical index. A want of due exactness in the citation of authorities is less easily condoned.

Vassar College J. F. Baldwin

SVENSK DIPLOMATI OCH TIDNINGSPRESS UNDER KRIMKRIGET. Av *Sven Eriksson*. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag. 1939. Pp. vii, 423. 7.50 kr.)

This close-packed, well-written study is of special interest today, for it documents the fluctuating opinions, policies, and methods of a state which remained

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neutral in the Crimean War and which today is straining every nerve to remain apart.

By 1815 the Swedes had almost accepted the fact that they could not play a great role in world politics. Hatred of Russia was dormant; dreams of empire were suppressed. The author remarks (p. 101) that while the British press in 1853 was goading the government to action for the sake of freedom and civilization, the Swedish press was concerned with tariffs, railways, and the liquor problem.

Many Swedes, Lars Johan Hierta, for example, thought the democratic monarchies of western Europe were only talking bombast and would let Russia have her way rather than fight. King Oscar I, however, early saw real danger in the situation. He urged armament, and he used the controlled press to swing public opinion behind his policy. Dr. Eriksson analyzes the methods by which the king gained good press connections abroad and how he skillfully combated the opposition press at home. A significant chapter treats of the publication of Volume VI of Schinkel's *Minnen* in 1855, describing Swedish-Russian relations in 1812. This account of Bernadotte's co-operation with Tsar Alexander confirmed the opposition in its fury and led to violent castigations of dynastic policy both as of 1812 and as of 1853-55. It was of popular concern, too, for Russian threats and demands after hostilities began had brought a resurgence of the old Russophobia. Since people love their hatreds more than their interests, they could not even give credit to Carl Johan (Bernadotte) for farsighted diplomacy. But then Oscar anonymously entered the lists of journalistic controversy. He cleverly capitalized on the extreme statements of men who objected to a policy which they did not understand—actually they attacked the king's foreign policy in order to destroy the king's domestic authority. The skill with which Oscar penned his articles is matched only by the timing—to coincide with special missions to and from France and England indicating the coming alliance of the "November Treaty".

Other scholars, such as Knaplund and Palmstierna, have dealt with the diplomacy of the period. The necessary background from 1810 to 1853 is not here strongly handled, but Eriksson's real service is in the critical appraisal of the activity of the press in reflecting and shaping public opinion, and in the evidence given of a king's keen appreciation of the importance of the press.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE, 1760-1939. By *Ernest L. Bogart*. [Longmans Economic Series, General Editor, Ernest L. Bogart.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1942. Pp. xiii, 734. $4.50.)

THIS treatise is the outcome of interests in European history that were intensified by studies of postwar policy in 1919-20. The inadequacies of the shorter general treatises then available induced Professor Bogart to undertake the task of

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producing a "satisfactory text". The results of this protracted effort are impressive. The book is attractively written, the judgments of events are shrewd, though cautious, and the allocation of space to the various periods and topics is well considered. Professor Bogart has achieved with distinction the task which he set himself.

The plan of the work represents the combination of topical and chronological treatment that has finally become an established feature of treatises on economic history. The text is divided into three parts: the rise of the machine, 1750-1870; economic rivalries, 1870-1914; and economic and political revolution, 1914-39. Within each division a rigid sequence of topics is observed: agriculture, industry, commerce and commercial policy, transportation, money, banking, and finance, labor and the labor movement, population and welfare. Within each chapter separate sections deal successively with Great Britain, Germany, and France. In the third part there are additional chapters on the causes and the consequences of the World War and on new forms of economic organization. We have, therefore, a formal but comprehensive survey of economic development in the three major countries. The well-ordered chapters reflect the mature experience of Professor Bogart as a writer and teacher, and it is scarcely possible to entertain doubts of the appeal of the treatise to many teachers and students.

To those interested in the future of historical writing and historical study the fact that this treatise is really "satisfactory" may be rather disquieting. The concepts underlying this volume are those of the more extreme type of the classical historians of the nineteenth century. All interest is concentrated on the record of events. There is no evidence of concern about historical process. Competing concepts of social policy and structure are nowhere critically examined. One wonders if it will be really sound educational policy to omit from our general courses all reference to these problems of history.

There is space only for brief comment on two related features of the general plan of presentation: the rigid sequence of topics, the severely nationalistic organization of material in each chapter.

In Part I the chapter on agriculture gives an organic opening for the narrative, as the agrarian organization affords the deepest insight into the old order that was passing away. In Part II agriculture is a possible opening, because the depressed condition of agriculture was of great importance for changes in commercial policy. But the competition with frontier regions was really a consequence of changes in transportation, and the relation between transport and the heavy industries made the development of transport a primary tone-giving factor in the period. In Part III it is really awkward to plunge directly into a discussion of agriculture as soon as the causes and consequences of the war are disposed of. Monetary problems and finance were of outstanding significance. The actual movement of events is not as orderly and symmetrical as the formal pattern of topics might suggest. Adherence to such a sequence of topics makes it difficult to convey

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any sense of movement within the periods or from period to period. The dramatic values of history are largely lost.

The nationalistic framework of the individual chapters is also a source of many limitations. Although much of the material can best be discussed from a national point of view, there are a number of problems that are common to Europe as a whole. Some discussion of these general features of the development of Europe would have enabled the author to avoid the appearance of assuming that international contacts and influences were completely subordinated to the internal forces operating in these closed economies. The structure of the text thus leads away from a true narrative and sacrifices much of the closeness to the events themselves that was the objective of the classical historian. In such a rigid scheme the events do not speak for themselves. The functional problems forced on the attention of the economic historian require important departures from the precepts and ideals of the classical approach to history.

Harvard University ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR BASED ON OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, BY DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE: NAVAL OPERATIONS. Volume III. By Sir *Julian S. Corbett*. Second edition. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 470. Maps 46. $18.50.)

As new material came to light, the need increased for a revision of this work, begun while the war it chronicles was still in progress. The second edition of Volume I, covering the outbreak of World War I, was published shortly before the outbreak of World War II (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 150). Now, with the intermediate volume promised for the indefinite future, there appears the important Volume III, embracing the period from February, 1915, to the return to their bases on June 1, 1916, of the fleets that the day before had fought the Battle of Jutland.

Most of the pages of the text and most of the forty-six separate sheets of charts are devoted to the account of this fleet action, the only one since Tsushima and the first in the era of dreadnoughts, whose lessons, variously construed, have strongly influenced naval thought ever since, and to the account of the abortive Dardanelles campaign, the greatest joint land and sea operation of World War I.

Like Volume I, the original Volume III was completed by Sir Julian Corbett before his death and "was fully approved of by Lord Jellicoe when he saw it after publication", according to the latter's biographer, Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon, who added significantly that Jellicoe "expressed astonishment at the extraordinary insight Sir Julian had into the motives that governed his actions in that battle". Thus the Jutland account, whose general tenor remains unchanged in the revision by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Y. Daniel, R.M., secretary of the Historical Section of

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the Committee of Imperial Defence, is a republication of the familiar pro-Jellicoe interpretation rejected in the Admiralty Narrative and the subject of so much controversy. After all, Corbett was one of the leading exponents of the safety-first school of naval strategy and tactics that had its first conspicuous airing at Jutland, and the revision adheres to the original viewpoint, either glossing over or attempting to justify those British decisions and dispositions that have been most severely criticized within and without the Royal Navy.

The flyleaf carries a reminder that, while the Admiralty made its documents available in the preparation of this history, it bears no stamp of official approval, and, as has been noted, the Admiralty Narrative of Jutland reflects a different point of view. There never can be a single definitive account of this battle, and Corbett's careful and conscientious study will remain one of the most important, regardless of how the performance of the Grand Fleet may be appraised in historical retrospect.

The new Jutland material in this volume relates largely to the vital subject of communications, which, Mahan said, "dominate war" and which were handled with serious inadequacy on both sides.

The first disclosure clears up the *Campania* mystery, only to leave in its place the disquieting mystery as to how it was possible to suppress the explanation for so long a time.

In that early period of naval aviation there were attached to the British forces for aerial reconnaissance at sea only two seaplane carriers, the *Engadine* with Beatty at Rosyth and the *Campania* with Jellicoe at Scapa Flow. The *Engadine's* contributions are part of the familiar record, having consisted chiefly of sending up a plane for scouting when contact was established between the advance units of the opposing battle-cruiser fleets. Of the *Campania,* however, little has been known except that she left Scapa after the main body and was back there the next morning before the enemy was sighted.

The revised text fills in the gaps. The *Campania's* berth was six miles from, and out of sight of, the fleet anchorage. She duly received the preparatory signals for the operation, but the one specifying her station in the steaming formation and presumably containing the hour of departure did not come through. While the *Campania* awaited further orders, the battleships, battle cruisers, cruisers, and destroyers stood out of Scapa, all unseen by the carrier, whose first intimation of the situation came from an inquiry flashed by the base commander.

The astonished straggler hastily got under way and vigorously pursued the fleet, gaining upon it at a rate that, if uninterrupted, would have brought her into position before the action commenced. But Jellicoe, who did not learn of the *Campania's* absence for some hours after clearing Scapa and then considered it unlikely that she could overtake the fleet in time to be useful, was reluctant to expose this vulnerable unit, unaccompanied by any destroyers, to attack by the submarines reported in those waters and ordered her to return to her base.

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Jellicoe's apologists, of whom the author of the original text was perhaps the most notable, have stressed his lack of accurate information during the operations. His own criticism of the Admiralty Narrative was based partly and perhaps chiefly upon its omission to emphasize the fact that his decisions necessarily were based not upon the actual dispositions but upon the estimated dispositions and that he had been obliged to grope for the enemy through mist and smoke, further confused by inadequate and inaccurate reports. Against this background it is interesting to read the reviser's comment upon the *Campania* affair: "As she carried ten seaplanes it is possible that she might have rendered valuable reconnaissance service and thus have amply justified the risk of submarine attack."

Two newly disclosed failures in the Admiralty communications room are included in this edition, one a mere inability to "break" a German secret code and the other an error in deciphering.

When Scheer's flagship left the Jade on the sortie that occasioned Jutland, he transferred his radio call to one of the guardships. The Admiralty, noting that Scheer's signals still were coming from his anchorage, advised Jellicoe, long after the High Sea Fleet was at sea, that it probably had not yet left its base. It now appears that the actual situation was contained in a German signal intercepted at 5:41 P.M. on May 30, announcing the hour of sailing on the following morning, but that the message could not be decoded at Whitehall. Had Jellicoe been apprised of the enemy's plan, he could have met the High Sea Fleet many daylight hours earlier than he did and, according to his own estimate, the outcome of the battle and the course of the war might have been very different.

Less excusable was the Admiralty's mishandling of seven German signals intercepted between 11:15 P.M. and 1:25 A.M. of the night of May 31-June 1, when, after the battle, the Germans were slipping past the British in the few hours of darkness. These messages, indicating the route of the withdrawal of some of the enemy forces, were not forwarded to Jellicoe, and there is now revealed the crowning blunder that in deciphering one of the earlier of these dispatches there was left out an all-important word showing that the information applied to the main body of the German fleet, rendering much more unfortunate even than previously supposed the omission to relay to Jellicoe the signal in its complete form.

For any student of the Dardanelles joint operations, the narrative in this volume is valuable.

The most important parts of this work, however, would seem to be those that do not treat of the most important events. There is an adequate literature of Jutland and the Dardanelles, but it is not nearly so easy to find authoritative accounts of the lesser operations.

During the period covered by this volume, these operations were at such scattered points as British home waters, the Mediterranean, Baltic, White, and Black Seas, Mesopotamia, and the African coasts, and they included the world-wide submarine, cruiser, and mining campaigns. The accounts of those varied maritime and joint operations constitute a timely textbook for the strategists

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and tacticians facing similar problems today. It is at once interesting to note how similar these problems are and the many points of dissimilarity. The advancement in aerial operations is illustrated, to cite a single example, by the fact that when the *Königsberg* was grounded up the Rufiji Delta, the British seaplanes could not bomb her because they were unable to rise higher than 800 feet in the tropical air.

The charts are excellent, details obviously being sacrificed for clarity.

This work constitutes another indication that it will be many years before the complete narrative of current campaigns will be available and that one way to grasp the significance of isolated news reports is to read an assimilated account, such as this one, of the last war.

New York City EDWIN A. FALK

WAR AND THE GERMAN MIND: THE TESTIMONY OF MEN OF FICTION WHO FOUGHT AT THE FRONT. By *Wm. K. Pfeiler*. With a Foreword by George N. Shuster. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xx, 349. $3.25.)

THIS is a highly interesting effort to elucidate from a particular point of view a problem in the discussion of which several able writers have recently engaged. Instead of tracing the ideas of Nazism throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—a method not without danger—Dr. Pfeiler concentrates on the first World War and the following period. Thus limited in time and space, his subject becomes all the more suggestive in its various aspects. The question he tries to answer is not: How did Nazism emanate from the war? But rather: What was the German reaction toward the war? How did the different feelings, opinions, characters shaped by the war tell on German literature and politics? Why was it that certain trends gradually absorbed the others? Is there any specifically German attitude toward war in general? Dr. Pfeiler undertakes to answer these vital questions, not with a few sweeping affirmations but through the painstaking examination of several hundred German books about the war written between 1914 and 1939. This task he performs with scholarship, literary taste, strong powers of analysis, and an admirable objectivity.

Perhaps with a little more objectivity than the subject of his study would seem to impose. The author, we learn from the foreword, is a resolute foe of Nazism, and it must have been extremely difficult for him to present—*sine ira et studio*—a philosophy he detests. Now it easily happens that, while trying to overcome an inner resistance to a hostile phenomenon, one actually comes out in its favor, and that justice toward the enemy becomes injustice toward ourselves. "Beware of explaining everything"—a Frenchman has said—"lest you end by excusing everything!"

To begin with, Dr. Pfeiler's principal distinction between "egocentrics" and "ethnocentrics" among the German war writers works rather in favor of those who are fond of war and the German manner of waging it. To be "ethnocentric"

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is certainly nobler than to be "egocentric". Yet, according to Dr. Pfeiler, all of the German pacifists belong to the "egocentric" school, whereas the militarists are the "ethnocentrics". To us it would seem that a sincerely peace-loving author may be just as interested in the happiness of the community as the most ardent worshiper of slaughter, and that an "ethnocentric" American or Englishman may very well believe in the necessity of taking up arms for his country and the freedom of the human race without indulging in the brutal mysticism of the Nazi type. Dr. Pfeiler's scheme is neither exhaustive nor quite fortunate in itself.

Nazi philosophy must not be viewed without regard to Nazi reality. A Nazi book on the war such as Joseph Magnus Wehner's *Seven before Verdun,* written three years before Hitler came to power, has as much to do with the second World War as with the first. Its subject is the past; its object the future. Wehner's philosophical German soldiers want to give "true liberty to all peoples of the world" and to build a "Reich of peace, justice, and love". What men of the same type actually did give to the world we know. They gave us the memory of Lidice and of those men and women hanged in Poland because they'd handed out milk to Jewish children. Herr Wehner, however, has his "heroes" talk of "love". Can he be called sincere? Doesn't he falsify reality? And if so, can his work have any real human or artistic validity?

Dr. Pfeiler fails to ask these questions. He goes so far in his endeavor to be fair and sympathetic that he takes even the peace-loving assertions made a few days before "Munich" by Himmler's sheet, *Das Schwarze Korps,* at their face value. In order to explain the puzzling contradiction between Nazi "pacifism" and Nazi militarism he delves into the great German philosophers. Once, it is true, he reminds the reader of the difference that might possibly exist between a book and the actuality it claims to picture. It would not be fair, he says, to confront the perfection of Nazi writing with the sad reality of the Weimar Republic. "If German republicanism is called a failure because of what it did, National Socialism certainly cannot be called a success until it has proved itself by deeds." As for these deeds, however, the author apparently did not yet have an adequate concept of them in 1941. Consequently his sole concern is with the ideal realm of literature. Not even the most accomplished scholarship can quite reconcile us with so one-sided an approach.

Pacific Palisades, California ERIKA MANN

IRELAND, PAST AND PRESENT. By *Tom Ireland.* With an Introduction by General John F. O'Ryan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. Pp. xlii, 1010. $5.00.)

THERE is very little in this long and confused account of Irish history to justify the extravagant claims made for it by the publishers. It is free from the more extreme forms of partisanship which disfigure so much work on this subject, but

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that is about its only merit. As a popular history—and one must suppose that that is what it is intended to be—it is too long; it bristles with repetition and with tedious irrelevancies; it is written in a style that is almost unreadable; and apart from a rough adherence to chronology, it is devoid of form or method.

As a work of serious scholarship it hardly merits consideration. The author is apparently unfamiliar not only with the available source material for the history of Ireland but with the ordinary standard works on the subject. Three or four small textbooks of varying degrees of value, a few monographs on isolated topics in Anglo-Irish and Irish-American history, and a large number of magazine articles and newspaper paragraphs reporting events in Ireland during the past twenty-five years—that is, in the main, the material with which Mr. Ireland has worked. To describe the result as an authoritative analysis, based on "massive research in Irish history", is a palpable misuse of language.

Interest centers chiefly in the political changes in Ireland and in the struggle with Great Britain since 1916. To this period the author has given about two thirds of his book. He has assembled a great mass of material, some of it interesting and important, much of it trivial in the extreme. There are some interesting passages, taken largely from Mr. Gwynne's biography, on De Valera's visit to the United States and on his efforts to enlist the support of the major political parties in his campaign. It is possible, by extracting the relevant data from the mass of petty detail in which it is embedded, to gain some impression of the remarkable achievement of Cosgrave's administration and of the manner in which De Valera succeeded in exploiting the situation created by the depression of 1931 to secure power and to accomplish what he could of his original design. The explanation of the constitutional changes of 1937 is obscure, except on one point. The driving force in this, as in the quarrel over the annuities, came from De Valera himself. The mass of the Irish people neither demanded nor showed any interest in the change. With more care in selecting and arranging the material and in composing the narrative, the story of these past ten years might have been made interesting and valuable. In its present form it can hardly be regarded as of any special significance.

University of Toronto D. J. McDougall

MR. CHURCHILL. By *Philip Guedalla.* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1942. Pp. 346. $3.00.)

A number of "lives" of Winston Churchill have appeared since 1939, but most of them are akin to the campaign biographies with which we are besieged every four years: they may be "timely" but are frequently mawkish. Guedalla's *Mr. Churchill* is on a higher level, even though it is intended as an appreciation of Britain's political leader at a time when leadership was never more needed. Mr. Guedalla handles his subject in a narrative manner, leading us from his hero's

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childhood through the various fortunes and misfortunes of an unusually checkered career. It is a fascinating and well-told story, interpreted in terms of Churchill's present position.

Churchill's political vagaries are not avoided, though rather softened and explained, at times, in ways that seem novel. His departure from the Conservative party just before 1905 is regarded as a result of his belief in free trade (p. 104), again as a consequence of differences on the Boer question (p. 112), and also as the result of reflection on his father's wasted career. It certainly came in the nick of time to bring Churchill into the Liberal upswing of the prewar decade. After serious political setbacks in the World War period and the postwar years, he is left a man without a party in 1922. At the time Churchill called himself a Constitutionalist, but as late as the election of 1923 he is still an ardent free trader, though Guedalla emphasizes his anti-Socialism. A year later he is back with the Conservatives, and so much an anti-free trader that, as chancellor of the exchequer, he reimposes the McKenna duties. Again, in the thirties, after being at outs with his party because of Baldwin's "organized inertia", Churchill came into his own. His career savors, to some degree, of what Morley called a "shrewd estimate of public reactions".

Mr. Guedalla makes much of the military side of Churchill's past, from the days when, as a martial infant, he had his army of lead soldiers on through his eagerness to engage in military activity—never of a very dangerous sort and usually linked with journalism—in India, Egypt, Cuba, South Africa. There were also reversions to military service during the first World War, when his political fortunes were at low ebb. Guedalla naturally puts the best explanation forward for the Churchillian record as a military strategist. In writing of the Greco-Turkish embroilment of 1922, it is certainly an understatement to say that Lord Curzon "fell away", when he, as foreign secretary, resented a statement of foreign policy published in the papers without his knowledge, a statement prepared under Churchill's direction. The author has omitted reference to Churchill's objection to expenditure on dreadnoughts when he was home secretary just before the World War, a position that was quickly reversed after the rising young leader had gone to the Admiralty. There are other omissions. Irish matters are hardly touched. The General Strike receives little attention, and no mention is made of Churchill's use of the *British Gazette* for fighting the strikers: it was regarded by them as decidedly unscrupulous. There is little reference to Churchill's great interest in the Indian Empire in the early thirties and to his objections as a Conservative die-hard to the timid constitution of 1935, a constitution that is now generally admitted as outmoded.

The martial side of the Churchillian career receives rather more emphasis than is needed were it not fitted to the present temper. Too much of the early part of the volume is Kiplingesque, with overgenerous quotations from that poet of imperialism. The reiterated emphasis on Churchill as a roughrider is curious, even

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though the brief Cuban episode brought Churchill into a field of operations that was also serving Theodore Roosevelt's love of adventure at the same time.

Guedalla's story of Mr. Churchill is, perhaps, the best of the current Churchilliads. But it is far from definitive biography. Probably it was not so intended. Churchill's present dominance rests not so much in his career as in his unflinching courage and superb rhetoric. Despite his political vagaries, he is well fitted to be a "chief of men" at a time of crisis. The biographer rightly concludes by comparing Churchill to the elder Pitt, who met an eighteenth century crisis in much the same way.

Oberlin College HOWARD ROBINSON

TEN YEARS: THE WORLD ON THE WAY TO WAR, 1930-1940. By *Dwight E. Lee*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. Pp. xviii, 443. $3.75.)

THE author of this excellent book states with unusual clearness in his preface what he has tried to do. He has sought "to present a factual survey and an interpretation of European international affairs in the decade of the thirties in order to make as clear as possible at this time the more immediate causes and the character of the war that began in 1939". He has not tried, though, to imitate "the more personal and more colorful narratives of actors and eyewitnesses". He further admits that he has a philosophy of history, which he frankly states.

In carrying out his purpose the author has avoided one pitfall into which many other historians of the period have fallen. He has not been tempted to fill his narrative so full of details as to overwhelm and confuse his readers. On the contrary, he has selected the facts and episodes which he considered most important and has devoted enough attention to them to make them stand out clearly in the mind of the reader. He has not, for example, tried to mention all the meetings of representatives of the various powers, all the various diplomatic agreements, or even all the actors that have played parts on the stage of world events.

After carefully selecting his facts the author has gone a step further. In contrast with the judgment of a well-known reviewer who has recently accused professional historians as a class of a "Spartan renunciation of any speculative interpretation", the author has pondered over the period and come to some conclusions about the interrelations of events and the meaning of his material. Though many may differ with his penetrating judgments, all will agree that he has given his readers an informative guide to the wilderness of the events of the last ten years.

In spite of the great amount of writing that has been done on the period since the first World War the book fills a unique niche in postwar bibliography. There is no work that covers exactly the same period. No other author has seen quite so clearly that during the last ten years the world turned away from the objective of peace and steadily moved in the direction of a renewal of war. In writing his book

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the author has embodied many of the best features of the work of the professional historian and the journalist. He obviously was well prepared for the task. He has written on recent events without being in too much of a hurry to publish. He has written with the resources of a historian and the punch of a journalist. The result is an excellent volume with the usual format and helpful aids of most scholarly works in the field of history.

University of Wisconsin C. P. Higby

TORNADO ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE: THE PATH OF NAZI DESTRUCTION FROM POLAND TO GREECE. By *Josef Hanč*. (New York: Greystone Press. 1942. Pp. x, 337. $3.00.)

Mr. Hanč's brief survey of the diplomatic history of Europe from 1920 to 1942 is a notable achievement. His fifteen years in the diplomatic service of his native land, Czechoslovakia, have endowed him with an insight into the tangled history of those years that the conventional historian might well envy. But he resisted the possible impulse to write a memoir, and his book rests on a broad basis of careful investigation. What gives it peculiar value is that it is written primarily from the standpoint of the small nations of eastern Europe. The "Great-Power" approach has been rather overdone.

Considering the times and his native background, the author is remarkably judicial. He gives one most of the essential facts and, in general, lets the facts tell the story. Indeed, he might have exposed Chamberlain's mishandling of the Czechoslovakian crisis more fully than he did, and he cannot be accused of giving the tragedy of his own country disproportionate space. When he expresses an opinion, he does so in temperate language. But the fact that much evidence is still denied us—and this Mr. Hanč recognizes—can hardly be expected to alter our impression of the utter fatuousness of the policy of "appeasement". One might wish, indeed, that all prewar "ostriches" might read the author's "Summary" on pages 282-84.

Mr. Hanč's personal opinions on many points deserve more attention than space permits. He classifies Stalin's deal with Hitler as another example of "appeasement". He explains and seems to justify Russia's attack upon Finland. In depicting the sharp cleavage between Russian and German interests and in tracing the continuity of German world policy he shows a grasp of fundamentals which makes one wish that statesmen would more often follow the judgments of really able intellectuals. For the galaxy of small nations wedged between Germany and Russia he believes that the greatest hope lies in some species of federation. More quixotically, perhaps, he wants democratic governments "in all countries", rather begging the question of how the permanence of such governments could be insured. Perhaps he is too much of a realist to broach the question of a really effective league of nations to enforce peace, but one hopes, on the other hand, that

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his faith in the masses of eastern Europe is not too unrealistic. At all events, *Tornado across Eastern Europe* (meaning, of course, the German "tornado") is one of the most enlightening studies of the present convulsion that has yet appeared.

University of Texas T. W. Riker

THEY CALLED ME CASSANDRA. By *Geneviève Tabouis*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. xii, 436. $3.00.)

DEADLINE: THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES STORY OF THE LAST DECADE IN FRANCE. By *Pierre Lazareff*. Translated from the French by *David Partridge*. (New York: Random House. 1942. Pp. viii, 369. $3.00.)

These are books by two well-known Paris journalists, currently refugees in the United States, who relate in intimate detail the political events during the last years and those agonizing last weeks of the Third Republic. Both writers are intensely concerned with the personalities involved, and a great share of the value of both accounts lies in the intimate descriptions of Briand, Herriot, Blum, Daladier, Reynaud, Pétain, Laval, and the rest of that unhappy lot of men who watched their country slide to the brink of the precipice and then go over.

As to the events themselves, most of what is described here is pretty generally known already. No one has yet produced a solid, satisfying book which really answers the great "Why?" of the fall of France. It is easy to understand why this is so—the collapse is too recent an event, and the country is so divided and in such turmoil that no French historian can yet properly work. This reviewer lived in France the last two years of the republic and witnessed the final collapse, and he has always felt that it will be many years before the story can be told in its fullness. Recent books on France tend to give the impression that it was all a great military fault or that all the blame rested on the incompetence of French leaders. It was far more than that, however, involving the whole social structure of the country; it involved the faith and the spirits of common men. One almost felt that Frenchmen had come to the point where they no longer believed in anything, including France. The last French newspaper I read before climbing on a ship to escape from Bordeaux was *Le Figaro,* which said, "France was like one of those stately old mansions which look so strong on the outside but which in reality are riddled by termites."

Mme. Tabouis's book, which is autobiography to a large degree, is much the better of these two volumes. She was truly an astonishing reporter in her *L'Oeuvre* days. As a relative of the great Cambons she had a social standing and thus news contacts that almost no other Parisian journalist possessed. She exposed Laval's first deals with Mussolini in which he told Mussolini to go ahead in Abyssinia; she exposed the Hoare-Laval pact and the arrival of German troops in Spanish Morocco. She became a diplomatic power herself, and you had to read her daily

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column whether you wished to or not. It must be confessed that her journalistic mores baffled American journalists. She thought nothing of relating in quotation marks conversation between Hitler and Mussolini on the telephone, though she couldn't possibly have had a transcript of it. She was wrong very often indeed, and she indulged in fakery which we would condemn in Hearst, but basically she was right. She knew that Nazism meant an attempt at world revolution, that France was in terrible danger, and she was one of the very strongest voices warning her countrymen. The good she did far outweighs the bad. Most French leaders she knew intimately, and her book should be read for her sketches of Briand and Barthou and then of Laval.

Pierre Lazareff writes with implied accusation of the French political leaders, but this clever editor of *Paris-Soir* cannot claim the prophet's role as Mme. Tabouis can. *Paris-Soir* had the biggest circulation in France, and it was usually not bitterly biased politically, because it aimed to make money, but the money-makers on *Paris-Soir* cannot maintain that they understood what was happening in Europe and warned their readers. In these respects the paper was remarkably like Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* in London, which it somewhat resembled in technique.

The best contribution Lazareff makes is his discussion of the Paris press, the venality, the bias, the bitterness of which take an American's breath away. The Paris press was powerful in making and unmaking governments because the French political structure was fundamentally shaky, and as the press influence became greater, the governments became shakier. Gossip and press comment became a disease in Paris. Affairs of state were virtually conducted on the front pages, and the existence of cabinets was almost measured by the interims between cocktail parties in the various important salons.

These books make it clear that the leaders of France, most of them, were incapable of accepting grave responsibilities, incapable of ruthless action, caught in a maelstrom of personal and social bickering and bitterness. Frenchmen simply did not trust one another, and without trust no government can function.

Mme. Tabouis relates a conversation with Barthou, years ago, in which the foreign minister said:

> We are destined to have a terrible upheaval in France and war is inevitable. Any Frenchman in politics who thinks these things can be avoided is deceiving himself lamentably. Why not face the thing squarely? Everything has degenerated in France, our conception of the state, of public duty, of Parliament, of our institutions. We have reached the place where we do not know what to do about it all. We cannot act any more.

Washington, D. C. ERIC SEVAREID

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Far Eastern History

THE RENAISSANCE OF ASIA. Lectures delivered under the Auspices of the Committee on International Relations on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California, 1939. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 169. $1.50.)

FRENCH INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST. Part I, A CENTURY OF FRENCH FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, by *Roger Levy,* with a Supplement by *Guy Lacam,* THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF INDO-CHINA WITH SOUTHERN CHINA; Part II, FRENCH INDO-CHINA IN TRANSITION, by *Andrew Roth.* [I. P. R. Inquiry Series.] (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. 1941. Pp. xi, 209. $2.00.)

THE *Renaissance of Asia* is a compilation of six lectures delivered in the spring of 1939. The first one of the series is by Klingberg, on the development of India's political and cultural assertiveness since 1885 and recent efforts of Great Britain to mollify unrest by grants of self-government. It is both scholarly and informative, but the author obviously needed more space than was allotted him. Kerner's essay on Soviet Russia covers more familiar ground, but here too several pregnant suggestions on Russia's role in Asia could not be developed because of space limitations. Kawai's lecture on Japan's domestic political tensions is clarifying, but no explanation can be entirely satisfying which omits reference to the prestige of clan leaders and the armed services that enabled them to act in the name of the Shinto-deified emperor. Mah, on the other hand, disdains any examination of the dynamics behind Japanese aggression and simply presents a catalogue of events to prove that Nippon's foreign policy is a deliberate revival of Hideyoshi's sixteenth century dream of world conquest. This may be true, but there are certainly other causative factors involved, such as the long-time weakness and irresponsibility of Peking authorities and the tactics pursued by Western powers in the Orient from 1896 to 1914.

Professor Knight brings to the story of the ineptitude and uneconomical aspects of French colonialism in Indo-China the vitality of personal observation and a refreshing degree of candor. Particularly obvious is the close economic affinity between Indo-China and Japan. In the final lecture Steiner presents a thoughtful analysis of China's war potential in support of the view, less obvious now, that Japan cannot effectively rule that land. He wisely suggests that one good thing that the future China can do is to remain essentially Chinese.

The second volume under review professes the commendable if ambitious purpose of providing a factual basis on which a future settlement of this area can be built. There is some overlapping in the three sections. M. Levy's contribution is informational in character and apologetic in tone. The time is surely past

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when the teaching of the French language by missionaries and similar associations in the Far East can be used to buttress assumptions of manifest destiny. Levy's declaration that France must strive to meet the obviously impossible commercial competition of other powers again betrays the national bias of the author. He concludes an able analysis of developing French tension with Japan with a plea for immediate collaboration between powers concerned in checking Japanese aggression. M. Lacam, in a shorter, more objective statement, describes the difficulties involved in developing trade relations between French Tonking and neighboring provinces of China. Here is evident the freshness of personal contact with a little-known situation.

Mr. Roth's narrative account of the progressive deterioration of French-Japanese relations from 1938 to 1941, based on newspaper releases, reveals that Indo-Chinese authorities conducted a more skillful diplomatic retreat than they have popularly been given credit for. Their task was made impossible by woeful unpreparedness, by military events in Europe, and by the futile policy pursued by Vichy. The French authorities failed dismally to rally native support in Indo-China and even postponed the granting of the most elemental economic and political rights for fear of opening the floodgates of popular unrest. The old colonialism has little to commend it. The account ends with the French cession of disputed areas to Thailand in March, 1941.

It is to be hoped that these two little volumes may be followed by others of equal sincerity and scholarly integrity but of more ample proportions.

Franklin College JOHN F. CADY

THE PHILIPPINES: A STUDY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Joseph Ralston Hayden,* James Orin Murfin Professor of Political Science, the University of Michigan, Vice-Governor of the Philippine Islands, 1933-1935. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xxvi, 984. $9.00.)

FOR the time being, at any rate, this magnum opus in the field of political science takes its place as the most up-to-date, scholarly, and most nearly definitive study of the Philippine government and people in print. It will remain for an indefinite time to come a principal source for all students of the subject. The fruit of some twenty years' scholarly labor, it is based upon personal, firsthand observations and study as well as exhaustive academic research.

On four separate occasions the author resided and traveled in the Philippine Islands: as exchange professor in the University of the Philippines in 1922-23, as newspaper correspondent in 1926, as Carnegie Visiting Professor in the state university in 1930-31, and as vice-governor and secretary of public instruction in 1933-35. He took advantage of these opportunities to broaden and deepen his acquaintance with Philippine society and its political institutions and to avail himself of much unpublished documentary material. He made full use of the

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voluminous collection of printed government documents at his disposal which, together with local newspapers and magazines and his own observations, constitute his major sources. All of this material forms a sound foundation for the authoritative text which rests upon it.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I, entitled "People and Government", introduces the Filipino people and surveys the principal institutions of their government. The constitution, the presidency, the civil service, national administration and finance, the legislature, the judiciary, and local government are analyzed in detail, and trends toward centralization duly noted. Part II is devoted to an equally thorough and, to the Occidental reader, more interesting description of insular politics. Parties, factions, electoral battles and stratagems are presented in lively detail, the whole forming a vivid picture of the one-party government of President Quezon and his followers. Part III deals with education, both secular and religious; Part IV, "Some Problems of the Commonwealth", with language, literature, public health and welfare, and Part V with external relations. Appendixes and footnotes follow, the former containing the text of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Law (the Tydings-McDuffy Act) and the constitution of the Philippines, the notes containing nearly a hundred pages of documentation for the eight hundred pages of text preceding.

Needless to say, this is a book for serious students, and it is a credit to Professor Hayden that he has written it as such. He does not spoil his work, as so many writers are tempted to do, by intrusive autobiography or by writing it down to the level of readers seeking entertainment rather than knowledge. His style, though unexciting, is clear and straightforward throughout. Some of the material on the defense of the islands will appear outdated by the calamitous events that have overwhelmed them. Nevertheless, it forms a historical chapter which will be significant to whatever future may be in store for the Philippines. Professor Hayden believes that this can never be a truly independent one without the continuation of American protection in some form or another, and, so far as the islands are concerned, events would seem to bear him out.

Yale University A. Whitney Griswold

American History

THE SECRET DIARY OF WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER, 1709-1712. Edited by *Louis B. Wright* and *Marion Tinling*. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1941. Pp. xxviii, 622. $5.00.)

After the lapse of more than two centuries it has been discovered that William Byrd II was an inveterate diarist and that three books of his diary have been preserved—one in the Huntington Library, one in the Virginia Historical Society

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Library, and one in the Library of the University of North Carolina. The first of these, dating from February 6, 1709, to September 29, 1712, is published in the present volume.

It is especially welcome in that diaries by colonial Virginians are rare and, with the exception of that of the Reverend Robert Rose, have not been very revealing. But Byrd does for the tobacco aristocracy of the Williamsburg region what Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall did for Boston and Massachusetts. Just as the Puritan diarists throw an intimate light upon the habits, dress, religion, business relations, prejudices, inhibitions, frailties of the people of New England, so this sophisticated Virginian is frank in sharing with us his thoughts, superstitions, religious hopes, foibles, and intellectual interests.

Byrd set down almost every detail of his life, though often in a provokingly abbreviated form—his daily readings in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, the conduct of his plantation, his estimate of the sermon of the local rector, his diet, his quarrels with Mrs. Byrd, his financial difficulties, his fondness for dancing and cards, the punishment of his slaves, his interest in his garden, the medicines with which he dosed his family and slaves, his duties as militia commander, his quarrels with Governor Spotswood, his zeal for scholarship, his indiscretions, his admiration for Archbishop John Tillotson, his hospitality, his fondness for billiards, cricket, and archery.

The editors have given us an interesting and valuable introduction, providing us with clues to the most important topics brought out in the text. But one could wish for fuller reference notes. Byrd frequently mentions briefly persons and events with which the average reader could not be acquainted. In some cases the editors explain the matter or identify the persons, but in many others they leave us in the dark. When Byrd speaks of Mrs. Edmund Berkeley, the former Lucy Burwell, there is no mention of the fact that this is the young lady with whom Sir Francis Nicholson was so violently in love; when he refers to Governor Spotswood's "double dealing", we should like to know what he meant. But there can be only praise for the enterprise which unearthed this priceless manuscript, secured a translation from the obscure shorthand in which it is written, and presented it to the public in its entirety.

Princeton University T. J. Wertenbaker

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. By *Edmund Cody Burnett.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xvii, 757. $6.00.)

One of the many excellences of this fine book is the clarity of purpose with which the author sets forth upon his task. This purpose is not to relate the history of the American Revolution as a whole or to describe all that was done by or in the Continental Congress. It is, instead, to depict the Congress, Dr. Burnett says, as "the central figure of the Revolutionary scene, for such it actually was". In this

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statement is embodied a definite thesis: The "Revolutionary scene" centers not around the Adamses, not around General Washington, not around the army, but around the Congress. The design so clearly stated is accomplished with success. To say this is not to decide at once that the thesis is the correct one but to assert that Dr. Burnett has followed lucidly the path he undertook to tread. He has kept his book in hand. One can think of little which he has left out; and equally of little that, in view of his purpose, he could have omitted.

If to any "general reader" this book may offer a first acquaintance with Dr. Burnett, those who peruse the pages of this *Review* have known him these many years as the editor of the *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. The relation of that work to the book now under review is so essential to an understanding of the latter that a brief reminder may not be superfluous. The *Letters,* the plan of which was conceived in the initial decade of this century, reached the point of publication, as to the first volume, in 1921; and the work was completed in 1936, not in the intended six volumes but in eight. For each volume, as it came out, Dr. Burnett furnished a table of contents; an index; "lists of members" by states, which revealed the fluctuating composition of every session of the Congress; ample footnotes; and, most important of all, something which he called a preface, but which his readers discovered to be a monograph summarizing the information to be derived from the letters in the volume and critically weighing the sources from which he drew his material. Thus was contributed to American historiography a work which, like the Library of Congress edition of *The Journals of the Continental Congress,* begun by Worthington C. Ford, and like John C. Fitzpatrick's *Writings of Washington,* constitutes an outstanding large-scale enterprise in the editing of documentary material that is a matter of pride to American scholars.

As by-products of this editorial work Dr. Burnett has published, in one form or another, several enlightening papers or critical notes, among which, appearing in this *Review,* are "The Name 'United States of America'" and "Perquisites of the President of the Continental Congress". In *The Continental Congress,* a volume of considerably more than seven hundred pages, the editor has completely turned author. In this narrative, footnotes, bibliographical apparatus, and lists disappear, for the very good reason that the inquiring reader may go for such information to the *Letters*. There is, indeed, an excellent index, which, no doubt without any deliberate intention on the author's part, illustrates his distinction between his book and a history of the Revolution. For in the index one cannot fail to note that much space is given to the names of some persons that would not perhaps come to mind as of great importance in the Revolution. One would expect the names of the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, and Washington to appear often, and they do; but so also do those of Henry Laurens, Samuel Huntington, James Duane, Eliphalet Dyer, and James Lovell, men important in the life and work of the Congress. What the index thus suggests, the book fills out.

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The influence of the *Letters* is manifest. The book is intensely human; it deals with people and their thoughts rather than with events in themselves. One danger, that of excessive quotation, Dr. Burnett skillfully reduces to a minimum. But the telling phrase, the revelation of personal likes and dislikes, the flash of quick judgment, these Dr. Burnett has caught, and these enliven the work. So does a healthy sense of humor, sometimes infectious; as, for instance, when Dr. Burnett—himself as close to country life as to the library—gleefully rejoices in the error which Congress committed when it gravely ordered all "creatures" purchased to be branded on the horn, somehow forgetting that pigs do not have horns; an order which with equal solemnity it later retracted. But all this is held in restraint. All the sides of the Revolutionary struggle, military, naval, diplomatic, financial, came into the view of Congress, and Dr. Burnett tells how Congress tried to handle them. The structure of the Union as embodied finally in the Articles of Confederation and the actual functioning of government apart from the Articles; the system of committees; the movement toward the establishment of executive departments; the jealousies of the states with regard to Congress and in respect to each other; the relations of Congress with the Indians; the Western cessions; the lands and the land companies; the failure of all regular attempts at amendment of the Articles; and the gradual elimination of the Congress through the adoption and ratification of the Constitution and the beginning of the new government under it—through all these phases and problems Dr. Burnett guides the reader, stopping, and stopping short, only when on July 24, 1789, the resignation of Charles Thomson, the perpetual secretary of the Congress, is accepted by President Washington.

For the elaboration of one topic or another, for some different point of view which involves the Continental Congress, the student of the American Revolution may go to special works such as those of Sanders, Knollenberg, Van Doren, Bemis, Meng, and Jensen. But as to the Congress, these and others that may be written will be held up, for many years, against Dr. Burnett's work, as against a standard weight or measure. It will be a very long time before a better history of the Continental Congress is written.

Library of Congress St. George L. Sioussat

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNION: JOSEPH GALLOWAY'S PLANS TO PRESERVE THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1774-1788. By *Julian P. Boyd*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1941. Pp. x, 185. $2.00.)

The number of plans and suggestions for an imperial union of the various parts of the British Empire which appeared in both England and America after the enactment of the Stamp Act indicate that the colonial resistance to parliamentary pretensions proved to be a far more violent shock to the imperial structure than appeared on the surface. So many plans appeared that one is inclined to doubt the respectability and patriotism of the person who did not have at least

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one. These plans run the scale: plans for colonial delegates to parliament, who might take part in debate but not vote; Francis Masseres's (or Maseres's) plan, to send eighty colonial commissioners to London to sit in parliament whenever it should convene as an imperial legislature; Galloway's, which would have created not only a unique legislative union but an American nobility as well; and there appeared, also, some pregnant with the idea of a commonwealth of nations. All plans, presented as such, accepted the inferiority and dependence of the colonies and their legislatures upon parliament as a matter of course. As Dr. Boyd has pointed out, Galloway's plans of union, like all of the other plans presented, were too far removed from the realities of American conditions and British politics. "The fundamental weakness of Galloway's Plans of Union was that, far from understanding the liberal movement underlying the American Revolution and trying to adapt an imperial constitution to the directions of that movement, they were designed to counteract it. They were *against* any leveling or republican manifestations in the colonies; they were *against* anything that challenged the established institutions of the British structure of government." It became quite obvious, however, that no plan of union would be accepted by the colonies except one forced upon them after their complete subjection—nor was there any likelihood that any plan would receive serious consideration in England—and Galloway eventually came to this view. The ultimate philosophy of the American Revolution was well expressed in homely fashion by Captain Levi Preston when he said, "we had always governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean we should." It was the *pretensions* of parliament that were being resisted, and no legal formalism could have prevented the disruption of the British Empire.

Galloway's plans of union here presented—only one of which has been previously published—have been introduced by five excellent chapters in which Dr. Boyd has attempted an analysis of the conservative mind and of the forces underlying the American Revolution.

Professor Adams says in his *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* that "Amor Patriae" (pp. 25-26) was Thomas Crowley, who had suggested several plans, similar to the one mentioned, to the earl of Dartmouth.

Should not "Schuylkill Fishing Company" (pp. 17, 18) and "Carpenter's Hall" (p. 29) appear as "Colony in Schuylkill", "Carpenters' Hall"?

There is a very good index but no bibliography.

The work is timely and makes a definite and scholarly contribution.

University of Illinois R. C. Werner

THE RHETORIC OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By *Bower Aly*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. x, 226. $2.50.)

If, in the spring of 1941, A had offered to bet B that a whole book could be written on *The Rhetoric of Alexander Hamilton,* he would have been justified in

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requiring heavy odds. It could not have appeared as a very feasible enterprise. No one has ever proved that Hamilton was a conscious literary artist. He did not write about his writing, and any claim for him as a deliberate rhetorician must rest on inference from achievement. It is true that Henry Cabot Lodge, by combing all the available records, got together nine volumes of Hamilton's *Works;* nevertheless, that great constructive statesman cannot be said to have been a copious writer. There are very few monographs on the rhetoric of American orators, and, except for three typed masters' theses directly on the subject at hand and L. D. Reid's book on Charles James Fox as a parliamentary speaker, there was little precedent to go by. The fact is, with Dr. Aly's present book before us, B might still advance some doubts as to his liability for payment.

This is not to say that the author has not given us an original, ingenious, and incisive book. It merely means that to build it out to book size he has been obliged to spend a good deal of time and space on a bibliographical essay alleging that "no adequate account of the man has appeared" and rather laboriously proving that the biographers of Hamilton have not said much that was worth while about his methods of argumentation. He then sets forth a little biography and character sketch of his own. The latter, however, is much to the point in its discussion of Hamilton's person, disposition, reputation, mind, reading, letters, and his experience as a pamphleteer, lawyer, and parliamentary speaker; for since the author's main contribution is to be an analysis of Hamilton as a debater in the Poughkeepsie Convention of 1788, it is well for the reader to have a general idea of the personality and equipment with which he has to deal. An orator's effect proceeds from the sum of all he has and is.

Dr. Aly has written a penetrating account of the Poughkeepsie Convention and Hamilton's part in it. It supplements, though it does not supplant, E. W. Spaulding's *New York in the Critical Period* and his full-length biography of George Clinton. But it offers, for the first time, a technical analysis of Hamilton's Poughkeepsie speeches. Joining the contemporary William Pierce in the opinion that Hamilton was a convincing speaker rather than a blazing orator, he launches into a discussion of Hamilton's "ethical proof" (by which he establishes himself with his audiences), his "emotional proof" (dealing largely with fear), his "logical proof", his use of "antecedent probability", and of devices like the rhetorical question. Granted that that generation of statesmen read Aristotle more assiduously than does our own, this reviewer inclines to think that if Hamilton could read Dr. Aly's book he would be surprised to discover just how he secured his effect—which doesn't make it any the less interesting.

Aly agrees with Spaulding that the original adverse majority of forty-six to nineteen was not overcome by Hamilton and his Federalist colleagues as much as by circumstances, but he states the evolution of these circumstances somewhat more neatly. At first the question was as to whether New York would join with other states in adopting a stronger federal government; after the ninth state, New

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Hampshire, had ratified the Constitution, the question was whether New York would adhere to a federal government already set up; after Virginia reported ratification, the question was whether New York, now virtually forced to join, would exact certain changes in the document as the price of its support. Probably Hamilton's argument was practically effective only on the final question.

In the light of the title the reader may be surprised to find the rhetorical analysis confined to the Poughkeepsie speeches; but they are probably a sufficiently illustrative sample. No one is going to accuse Dr. Aly of skimping his job. Students of rhetoric who read this book will not be disappointed, we hope, in finding that a large part of it is historical narrative and personal description. Certainly historians who turn through its pages will henceforth read speeches—anybody's speeches—more understandingly.

Union College DIXON RYAN FOX

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN SOCIETIES, 1790-1800. By *Eugene Perry Link*. [Number 9 of the Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 256. $2.75.)

To get material for his book Dr. Link visited "every state library, historical society and hall of records from Georgia to Maine" and then went west to Wisconsin. Such energy was rewarded by the discovery of much new material on the Democratic-Republican clubs. This new material Dr. Link combined with much that was already known about the clubs. The result is an excellent dissertation, the first full-length study of a subject that has always been interesting and about which historians often have been wrong and unfair.

The unfair treatment of the clubs by Federalist-minded historians like Hildreth and McMaster has been corrected by many subsequent writers, and it is one of the weaknesses of Dr. Link's work that in his effort to be original he has written as if the older views had until now gone unchallenged. On the whole, Dr. Link's contribution is his thorough documentation of much that has heretofore been treated inadequately or has been the subject simply of guesses.

When he sticks closely to his chosen subject, Dr. Link is unassailable. His effort to connect the "self-created societies" of the 1790's with the "Spirit of '76", the Sons of Liberty, and other early groups is entirely successful. His handling of the many problems connected with discovering the economic and social status of the members of the clubs is efficient and scholarly. Perhaps his best chapter is the last, on the Federalist attacks upon the "mobocrats".

When Dr. Link tries to illuminate his scholarship with philosophic writing on the nature of democracy, however, the result is unhappy. His very first sentence reads: "A democracy might well be defined as a form of government in which popular associations have a free and recognized indispensable function." Hardly anywhere in the book is there an indication that Dr. Link does not believe that a

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sufficient definition. In the preface Dr. Link writes quite opaquely of his "democratic approach" to his subject. In the same place he writes of the "methodology" of democracy, a confusion with "method" which is noted here not only because Dr. Link is at fault, but because he illustrates a common tendency to use the vocabulary of science in work that should be but is not quite scientific. No one is more justified in writing of "democracy" than Dr. Link, who has made so thorough and so sympathetic a study of one of its earliest manifestations in America. It is regrettable that he has not been more illuminating as to its implications, especially at a time when "popular associations" elsewhere have shown what havoc they can do to "democracy" in the name, indeed, of "democracy". On the details of the clubs' activities Dr. Link's work is first rate.

New York University WILLIAM MILLER

ODD BYWAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Charles Warren*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. 269. $3.00.)

HISTORIANS of our first half century have frequently encountered signs of most of the occurrences which Mr. Warren recounts in these twelve sketches, but being intent upon making academic reputations for themselves by writing upon more significant developments, they have left those indications behind. It is now by no means necessary for Mr. Warren to do this, and accordingly he has had the pleasure of exploring the complexities to which the signs pointed. Although practically all of the sources are well-known printed materials, to follow these devious political threads must have been difficult, particularly because they are not usually chosen for indexing by the makers of guides. Any student of the diplomacy of the period must have run across isolated data concerning the various lions, horses, and elephants given to presidents by foreign dignitaries, but it has remained for Mr. Warren to pursue these animals to their fates. Likewise other diplomatic subjects dealt with, such as the lax handling of Americans in London during the Revolution, public alarms over suspected French plots in 1799, and Federalist desires for war on France in 1803, involve incidents and statements observed by many but not before compiled into connected enticing narratives.

The most interesting sketches, and probably the most substantial for the student of government and political history, are those dealing with imbroglios between Presidents and Congress. The vicissitudes of John Quincy Adams, with whom the adjective "irascible" appears to have become fixed in the minds of historians, and of Jefferson and Jackson are seen frequently in entertaining and revealing fashion. Caustic congressional debates over the proposed national fast day for prayers against a cholera epidemic in 1832, the manner of delivery and acceptance of the President's annual message to Congress, and the fiasco resulting from congressional efforts to observe the centenary of Washington's birth—all illustrate anxiety of the legislative branch of government to assert its independence of the executive.

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Sectional rivalries are shown in the sketch concerning the reception of the French minister Gérard and in several others. One of the most enjoyable narratives is that of the rather amazing mystery of the portraits of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette presented to Congress by those monarchs. That paintings thirteen feet high could disappear without leaving definite evidence of their fate is a commentary on the preservation of certain types of historical records.

In each case Mr. Warren tells a good story, with all the appurtenances of scholarship which at once intrigue the historian and dismay the layman. Quotations, largely from the press, are long and numerous but highly informative. The whole book comprises an excellent series of case studies for the teacher of historical method. Mr. Warren's analysis of the sparse and conflicting documentation on the weather at Washington's inauguration, for example, could profitably be studied by a beginning graduate seminar. That sketch is one of several which may have been suggested by recent political developments. The book is published in a form corresponding to its quality, and the extensive explanatory footnotes are conveniently grouped together at the end.

The National Archives PHILIP C. BROOKS

THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORY. By *Jeannette P. Nichols,* Sometime Professor of History, Wesleyan College, and *Roy F. Nichols,* Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania. Volume I, *1493-1865.* [The Century Historical Series, William E. Lingelbach, Editor.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1942. Pp. xvii, 638. $3.50.)

THIS volume, as indicated by an announcement of the publisher, will be supplemented by a second which will complete a two-volume college text treating the history of the United States down to the present. The field of United States history is amply provided with good college texts, but new products are necessary to incorporate the additions of scholarship and to rectify errors of interpretation that have been demolished by the course of events. The art of presentation can never attain perfection, and improvement is welcome.

The volume under review will readily take its place among the excellent works of its kind. The work represents broad reading and careful scholarship. The outline of the material is logical and full. The treatment seems less formal than some texts. Its departure from the conventional and usual treatments followed is primarily in balance and emphasis through choice of materials. There is considerably greater attention given to Spanish explorers, settlements, and developments, especially in North America, than has usually appeared in texts. The balance within the conventional materials of politics, wars, and diplomacy is shifted somewhat in favor of the last. The clarification of the general international situations is commendable.

Another emphasis is evident in the repeated attention to social developments. This interest has tended to characterize the style as descriptive exposition by re-

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ducing the use of analytical exposition of cause and effect. Perhaps it is sufficient to observe that "the what" and "the why" of the past are mutually contributory answers, and either, if pursued far enough, includes the other.

On some specific items of fact and interpretation questions arise. The implication that an American fired the first shot at Lexington ("the British fired back", p. 200) places a responsibility that many historians have hesitated to assign. If there was inserted "in the Articles of Confederation a clause granting to Congress the power to administer the common territory" (p. 229), it has escaped the scrutiny of the reviewer.

A number of items relating to the Civil War do not produce a happy accord. After describing Lincoln's political triumphs in handling his rivals and colleagues, the authors present Davis's ineptitude and conclude: "The southern leaders were trained to attack, not to cooperate, and that fact was a fatal weakness" (pp. 567-68). This presentation implies that the North did not have this same weakness, and this was not *the* "fatal weakness" of the South. And again, "most disillusioning was the absolute failure of the South to develop any creative or organizing talent in meeting its needs. The South had iron and fuel but it never exploited them" (pp. 572-73). And finally, "The South came to the point where it lost the will to fight" (p. 574). The reviewer believes that there is ample evidence of creative and organizing talent in the Confederacy and that the Southerners did exploit their iron as far as the limited labor supply could do so. For the "will to fight" to remain effective, there must also be the power to fight. It is possible that the Confederates at Appomatox had lost the latter.

The book is interestingly illustrated and contains a number of useful maps and other aids. The work has much to commend it as a text.

University of Nebraska J. L. Sellers

HOUSES OF OLD RICHMOND. By *Mary Wingfield Scott.* (Richmond: Valentine Museum. 1941. Pp. xii, 332. $5.00.)

The founder of the Valentine Museum of Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Mann S. Valentine, made the wise provision in his will for the publication of materials in the collection to "make them all interesting, instructive and profitable to those of my community and State".

From this collection and elsewhere Miss Scott has chosen 124 houses, eighty-four of which are still standing. Some were selected because of their intrinsic interest, others for their interesting associations. In this very handsome book she has treated these with affectionate but discriminating appreciation. There are photographs, descriptions, and histories of the houses and of their occupants. Information was drawn from a wide range of material, both primary and secondary.

The story of Richmond's ante-bellum architectural development falls conveniently into five periods—village and early capital, the development into a city,

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stagnant years after the panic of 1819, the Greek revival boom, 1836-52, and the "exuberant 'fifties" with their Victorian characteristics. Each chapter is prefaced with an excellent brief history of the period, describing its chief architectural characteristics and showing how these were affected by the economic growth of the city.

Richmond was first a trading post at the head of navigation on the James River. Its development into a city of importance began when it succeeded Williamsburg as capital of Virginia in 1799. Soon brick construction predominated. Substantial residential sections were built in which the main houses and their dependencies occupied from a quarter to a whole block and resembled miniature plantations.

Between 1810 and 1819 definite architectural changes appeared with the use of stucco, triple windows, smaller chimneys, and the beginning of the large, two-story porticoes, usually on the garden side, which became very popular during the period of Greek revival in the thirties and forties.

Following Jefferson's Greek revival in the state Capitol in Richmond, churches and other public buildings put on the form of Greek temples. But Richmonders did not choose to build their homes in that fashion. Yet the influence of this revival is seen in the columns of the small entrance porches and in interior decorations.

A distinct break appears when the wealthy manufacturers of the prosperous fifties set out to build something different in the Victorian manner. Even those of moderate means indulged their love for ornamentation by the use of elaborate ironwork, some of it very beautiful.

Richmonders should heed Miss Scott's advice that they preserve, restore, and use these old landmarks, thereby continuing the city's individual atmosphere and historical traditions.

College of William and Mary RICHARD L. MORTON

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO. Edited by *Carl Wittke,* Professor of History, Oberlin College. [Published under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.] In six volumes. Volume I, THE FOUNDATIONS OF OHIO. By *Beverley W. Bond, jr.,* Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. Volume II, THE FRONTIER STATE, 1803-1825. By *William T. Utter,* Professor of History, Denison University. Volume III, THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER, 1825-1850. By *Francis P. Weisenburger,* Associate Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1941-42. Pp. xix, 507; xiv, 454; xiv, 524. $25.00 a set.)

FLYING across country, Gertrude Stein said, a bird's-eye view of the roads and rivers, the fields and factories, is sufficient to distinguish one state from another. Individuality may also be disclosed in state histories. Illinois looked at itself

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through a multiple-authored history in 1918. New York followed the pattern in 1933. Now comes Ohio. Beginning with the ice age, the first volume of the new set ends with the enabling act for statehood. One chapter, by Henry Clyde Shetrone, explains the cultures and migrations of the aborigines, the mound builders and later fellow travelers, red foreigners almost as new to the Ohio country as the Europeans who evicted them. Succeeding chapters describe the explorations of the French and the English, competitors in the fur trade, canoemen from the St. Lawrence drifting on warm, sluggish creeks through tunnels of foliage, pack drivers with horses floundering through jungles of mountain laurel. The ensuing struggle for the continent follows the trail blazed by the Illinois history. Excellent reproductions of contemporary maps illustrate the text. Particular attention is centered on English expansion in the West, the French and Indian War, Ohio during the Revolution, and the Northwest Ordinance.

The second and third volumes of the Ohio history, ending with 1850, deal in detail with pioneer political cliques, land legislation, the Burr conspiracy, and internal improvements. More than half of each volume is devoted to social and economic history, farmers' problems, fertilizers, the transition from corn to wheat, the importation of horses, cattle, and sheep, the improvement of Poland-China hogs—Ohio's own breed. Ohio's sheep, too, it may be added parenthetically, set the United States standard of wool fineness for a hundred years. The volumes contain the story of road and canal construction, toll experiments, navigation of the Ohio by flat and keel boats, seagoing vessels, and finally by floating palaces with lofty decks ornately iced like wedding cakes. Ohio's industrial development in this period is represented by splashing, wheezing wheels, cloth looms, tanneries, "asheries", salt works, forges, pottery ovens—even labor organizations. Space has also been allotted to medicine, religious revivals, fashions in dress, theaters, libraries, newspapers, schools, and schoolteachers, including William McGuffey of eclectic fame.

Material for this work has been drawn from manuscripts, journals, and contemporary newspapers. Recent topics of controversy among historians are handled with tolerant restraint. Disputed evidence is not accepted categorically concerning the existence of Folsom man, the extent and priority of La Salle's explorations, or the alleged motives of frontiersmen in the War of 1812.

Early religions have been treated less objectively. Half a million Mormons may not care to read that their leader received "a supposed revelation from Heaven". Also, the phrase "fifth president of the Mormon society" grates on some ears as incongruously as would "pope of the Catholic society". Symptoms of *Puritanitis* appear in the startling assertion that "a typical Puritan"—the leaven, if you please, of the seventeenth century English-speaking world—was "unimaginative". Certain early Ohio statutes are pronounced "reminiscent of puritanical traditions". Yet acts similar to those cited were enforced in colonial Virginia as well as in New England. Innuendoes concerning other religions appear in the use of the word "Campbellite" and in the "depressing theology of Calvin". This

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reviewer wishes also to record a reverent remonstrance against the assertion that "only the Methodists stood firmly against even the moderate use of alcohol".

These transgressions are minor. The lack of a bibliography is more important. A critical list of sources and of suggested readings at the end of each chapter doubles the usefulness of a state history. Then, too, the index should have been checked more carefully, though perhaps the reviewer was unfortunate in the random entries he selected. Notwithstanding these defects the three volumes deserve commendation as a monumental collection of facts, statistics, and census analyses. Especially praiseworthy are the illustrations of Ohio's best early architecture, portraits of prominent citizens, and the inclusion of the names of a vast array of individuals, people who gave to Ohio a distinctive culture.

Illinois State Historical Library JAY MONAGHAN

NORTH CAROLINA BOUNDARY DISPUTES INVOLVING HER SOUTHERN LINE. By *Marvin Lucian Skaggs,* Head of the Department of Social Sciences, Campbell College, Buie's Creek, N. C. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 250. $1.25.)

APPROXIMATELY three fourths of this book is devoted to an exhaustive survey of the prolonged and bitter dispute over the boundary line between North Carolina and South Carolina; the remaining one fourth covers in equal detail the shorter but no less bitter controversy over the boundary line between North Carolina and Georgia. The book as a whole is an extremely thorough and able exposition of more than two centuries of disputes and negotiations. It is a book for the scholar and the specialist. The general reader will be bewildered and bored by the seemingly endless series of negotiations and surveys which are herein explained in monotonous if thorough detail.

Perhaps the most valuable feature of the book for the general reader is the explanation of the background of the controversies and the "growing consciousness of division" between North Carolina and her southern neighbors. Of the divisive forces operating toward separation the chief one was the physiographic; throughout the controversies this factor was the principal obstruction in the way of successful negotiation and compromise. Divergent tendencies in the economic and social life of the provinces, together with long-standing racial differences, all of which conditions dated from early colonial times, complicated the problem of peaceable adjustment. The lack of a definite and permanent boundary line not only disturbed interstate and imperial relations but also complicated such necessary and everyday activities as trade, Indian relations, land titles, and taxation. This confusion led also to continual violence and border clashes, especially in the controversy with Georgia, delayed economic development, and impeded governmental functions in the disputed areas.

All the parties involved were aware, from colonial times, of the danger and

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cost of such confusion. From the first mutual survey in 1735 to the last in 1928 more than a dozen mutual or independent surveys were conducted without achieving a definite and permanent boundary line. In these numerous, tortuous, and prolonged negotiations there is little to choose among the parties involved. Here and there in the two centuries of negotiations emerges a man of character, capacity, understanding, and statesmanship—men such as Tryon, Dobbs, Steele, Caldwell, Davie, and Blythe. But for the most part the disputes reveal only jealousy, incompetence, ignorance, bickerings, carelessness, and failure.

The author has written this work from an obviously long and thorough study of a mass of sources, of which only a careful study of original maps seems to have been omitted. The one map included is confusing and difficult to follow and is of little help in tracing the complicated narrative. The annotated bibliography is excellent, and there is a satisfactory index.

Davidson College FRONTIS W. JOHNSTON

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *James A. Green*. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1941. Pp. xii, 536. $5.00.)

IN an age of "debunking" literature it is rare to encounter a biography that belongs to the category of panegyric. It is under this heading that the present volume falls. The aim of the author is to revivify and rehabilitate the figure of William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States, for (as the author states in his preface) he was moved to write the book because he "did not think that the previous biographies of General Harrison did him justice". To this end Mr. Green has devoted his attention to Harrison's qualities as a builder of the West, as a soldier, and as a man of national principles and policies. It is, indeed, written in a vein reminiscent of the campaign lives and funeral orations cited at length in its pages.

To the reviewer, the author seems justified in his estimate of Harrison the individual, generous and kindly, and the volume contributes some interesting addenda to a knowledge of Harrison as a personality—his family relations, his interests, and his friendships. But the author's assumption of Harrison's greatness as a public figure is one which a critical historian cannot accept. Nor do the pages of the volume, replete with the author's scorn of research in the "musty files of official correspondence", adduce new information to support his assertions. The disadvantage of scorning this form of dull and laborious work is apparent in such errors as his treatment of Harrison's Land Act. The author says: "The old plan was for Congress itself to sell, each sale requiring a separate act with all its accompanying delays and red tape, in parcels of a million acres or more this act was the beginning of the plan by which the United States sold the public lands to actual settlers" (pp. 79-80). Even granting the inadequacies of the act of 1796, one would expect the author to evince some knowledge of its provisions and

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operation. Moreover, nowhere is there any suggestion of evidence that the general, very humanly, wished for or sought a place in public life. Incidents such as Harrison's efforts to secure a commission for himself in the summer of 1812, or his desire to obtain office in Ohio in the early thirties, are omitted.

Withal, the book does celebrate with real appreciation the growth of the West during Harrison's lifetime, and it is written with a sincere devotion and knowledge of the country of the Old Northwest—its beauties, its riches, its contribution to our history. The judgment of the historian on any inadequacies in the volume from the point of view of scholarship must be tempered by sympathy with the author's ardent zeal for his subject.

Hunter College DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL

METHODISM AND THE FRONTIER: INDIANA PROVING GROUND. By *Elizabeth K. Nottingham*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 231. $2.50.)

ALTHOUGH this book was prepared under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, it hardly rates as a contribution to knowledge. Miss Nottingham uses the recollections of Allen Wiley, who was for many years a Methodist itinerant in the Whitewater Valley of Indiana, to tie together her narrative. She believes that Wiley's recollections have a unique value in that through them we are able to trace the development of Methodism in a single area from the frontier days into the second generation, when substantial churches with organs were built, when preachers were stationed instead of sent to ride the circuit, when emphasis was placed upon learning, and when colleges were built—De Pauw University in this particular case—and when Methodism became orthodox and conservative and took on aspects of formality and dignity. Except for the effects upon Wiley himself, who in his closing years appears to have become somewhat disaffected in his nostalgia for the early days, this reviewer questions whether a study of one particular locality—in this case the "Indiana proving ground"—has added anything to what has been said and restated again and again about the development of American Methodism.

All of the familiar aspects of frontier Methodism which gave that denomination decided advantages over competitors are well treated. These were the episcopate, the itinerancy, the local preachers, the class meetings with emphasis upon individual participation, the camp meetings with their great social as well as religious significance, the Arminian theology, the Methodist hymnody, the emphasis upon emotionalism and revivalism. The only real point proved by Miss Nottingham is that inasmuch as these were characteristics of early Methodism in Indiana, Indiana was therefore a part of the frontier in the first generation of Allen Wiley's time. As the frontier moved on while Wiley remained in the Whitewater country, his sojourn simply emphasized the similarity of the Methodist pattern throughout

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the United States to that of the Whitewater Valley. In this respect Indiana was a proving ground, and Miss Nottingham's thesis demonstrates it.

The most original part of the study consists of the parallelisms and contrasts between American and English Methodism. Here Miss Nottingham has performed a real service, particularly in her treatment of the revival tradition in the two countries and the institutional variations necessitated by the American environment.

The book is well and interestingly written. Students and others will enjoy it and find it profitable. Documentation is reduced to a minimum; in fact it is probably inadequate for the more serious student. The bibliography reveals that little or no new source material was used beyond Wiley's articles. Nor is such a convenient and indispensable compilation as Peter G. Mode's *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* listed. The index is adequate.

University of Maryland W. M. Gewehr

PHILOSOPHER PICKETT: THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CHARLES EDWARD PICKETT, ESQ., OF VIRGINIA, WHO CAME OVERLAND TO THE PACIFIC COAST IN 1842-43 AND FOR FORTY YEARS WAGED WAR WITH PEN AND PAMPHLET AGAINST ALL MANNER OF PUBLIC ABUSES IN OREGON AND CALIFORNIA; INCLUDING ALSO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS WRITTEN BY HIM FROM YERBA BUENA AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA BY THE UNITED STATES IN 1846-47. By *Lawrence Clark Powell*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 178. $1.50.)

"California in her Cups" might be a free rendering for *Inter Pocula*, as H. H. Bancroft entitled his volume of anecdotes on the Gold Rush days. Among his choicest yarns are those relating to "Philosopher Pickett", so styled by Host Sutter as early as the first fourth of July celebration under the American flag, that of 1848, when the Virginian was "orator of the day" at Sutter's Fort.

Mr. Powell packs into his handsome little book of 178 pages (including an inadequate index) the ups and downs, mostly downs, of the famed Confederate general's young cousin, who trekked first to Oregon but so disliked the Protestant missionaries that he shook off the dust against them in 1846, bent on returning to "Fruit Farm" in the Old Dominion by way of the Mexican province of California. California entranced him, however, and, barring a short voyage to Hawaii, whose missionaries also disgusted him, he spent all the rest of his days as a confirmed but captious Californiac. He got to Yerba Buena in time for the Bear Flag Revolt, which he denounced equally with the subsequent Gold Rush; disapproved of the Constitutional Convention and the Legislature of a Thousand Drinks; and so deeply loathed the state's first senators, Frémont and Gwin, that he wrote a hot

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pamphlet on "Gwinism" and a hotter one on "the Pathfinder" when that adventurer became the first Republican nominee for the presidency.

The Philosopher reveled in pamphleteering, and one can only regret the omission of his philippics as a Confederate agitator. As it is, the most important part of this always engaging book is its appendix of eight unpublished letters that impart the very essence of the times. Incidentally, Pickett killed his man and got off by a hung jury, lost money on newspapers, took a fling at politics, and remains ever memorable as the most insistent Reformer of the Coast.

His biographer seems to have caught the contagion of some of his pet hates and may do an injustice in attributing to Gwin an "unsavory part in the Terry-Broderick duel". But it is hard to criticize this book, which takes its own place on the ever-lengthening shelf of indispensable Californiana.

San Francisco, California JAMES A. B. SCHERER

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By Brother *J. Robert Lane,* F. S. C. [The Catholic University of America.] (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1941. Pp. x, 321. $2.00.)

DR. Lane's monograph might better have been entitled "Party Politics in Connecticut, 1850-1865", for his study is primarily an account of party activities during fifteen dramatic years of Connecticut history. A third of his narrative is devoted to party developments in the 1850's; the remainder consists of chapters on the battle between the two major parties in Connecticut in 1860, their conflicting attitudes regarding the compromise proposals of the winter of 1860-61, the renewal of party strife a few months after the truce that followed the attack upon Sumter, the intensification of the struggle when Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation broadened the objectives of the war, the reaction of Connecticut people and party leaders to the drafts of 1862 and 1863, and finally the party contests of 1864-65, which gave the Republicans a firm control of the state.

In the main Dr. Lane's approach to these matters has been through a close analysis of party conventions, campaigns, and the maneuverings of politicians. In this he has shown skill, discrimination, and a high degree of objectivity. His research has been thorough. There are, however, serious limitations to such an approach, for the main lines of political division and the repercussions of national events upon Connecticut, while dealt with, suffer in emphasis in comparison with the details of party operations. Also the particulars of party history seem rather sterile when so largely divorced from economic and social pressures with which in reality they are intimately related. There is need, for example, of an adequate treatment of such matters as the part played by manufacturing, insurance, and other interests in influencing state politics and policies shortly before and during the war and the effect of Connecticut's great war prosperity upon politics. Evidence is introduced which suggests that apprehension was felt in some business

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quarters as to the effect of antislavery agitation and secession upon the state's large trade with the South, and the author shows that war prosperity dampened enthusiasm for military service as the conflict progressed, but these and other large aspects of political affairs need more attention. Had Dr. Lane adhered to his original intention to devote a single chapter to the political background of the 1850's—it is not apparent that so extended an account was essential to an understanding of Connecticut's political history during the war years—there would have been sufficient space for a satisfactory discussion of them. If they had received it, one feels that his contribution, which is considerable, would have been substantially greater.

Dartmouth College A. Howard Meneely

CONFLICT: THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *George Fort Milton.* (New York: Coward-McCann. 1941. Pp. xii, 433. $3.50.)

Mr. Milton in the volume under review has filled in the gap between his earlier books, *The Eve of Conflict* and *The Age of Hate.* The trilogy now covers approximately the period of American history from 1850 to 1877.

While part of a series and exhibiting many of the characteristics which mark the other volumes, this book has a distinctive quality which sets it apart from the others. To a much greater extent it is addressed to the general reader who desires in a minimum expenditure of time to get a comprehensive view of the things which counted in a highly complicated period. Concentration on essentials seems to have been the guiding purpose of the author. The result, despite manifest defects, is an illuminating account which goes about as far as can be done in one small book to make plain how the Civil War was fought and why the South lost the struggle.

Mr. Milton has sought, and with a large measure of success, to look at the struggle between the North and the South objectively, but that effort, as often happens, has not led to a suppression of his own views. On the contrary, free expression of the author's opinions is a distinctive feature of the book. The passages containing these interpretations are always concise, free from pedantic details, and clearly labeled as opinions. The reader is aided in distinguishing sharply between facts and interpretations. Unlike many historians, Mr. Milton is not afraid to discuss the ifs of history. As it is always done by way of suggestion and without dogmatism, the danger of deceiving an unwary reader is reduced to a minimum. Some of his ifs are decidedly thought provoking.

While fully recognizing the advantages the North had in men and resources, Mr. Milton is convinced that the outcome of the war was not inevitable. He thinks that the defeat of the South was due to faulty strategy, failure to utilize properly its more limited but sufficient resources, and to favoritisms, jealousies, and hatreds among Confederate leaders. He is particularly severe upon Jefferson

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Davis for his partiality to Bragg and Pemberton, brave men but incompetent, and his distrust of Johnston. Confederate failure to export cotton on an extensive scale early in the war and the Union blockade later on, he thinks, were decisive factors in the outcome. The Union won the war in the West. He is of the opinion that in the course of the struggle there were several occasions when a Union or Confederate victory, if properly followed up, might have brought the war to a sudden end.

The style is vigorous, clear, and in the main well calculated to hold the attention of the reader, but marred by occasional use of curious words of a rather abstract sort. If space permitted, it would be possible to enumerate a large number of minor errors. The maps are few and inadequate. There are no footnotes, and the bibliography leaves much to be desired. Despite these faults the book is an addition to the small number of really illuminating brief accounts of the Civil War.

Dartmouth College FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, THE MAN WHO SAVED THE UNION. By *H. J. Eckenrode,* Historian of the Virginia Conservation Commission, and *Bryan Conrad,* Assistant Historian of the Virginia Conservation Commission, Colonel, the United States Army. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 296. $3.50.)

GEORGE B. McClellan is one of several Civil War figures who failed after almost achieving heroic success. With some, capricious chance tipped the scales, but "Little Mac" was chief architect of his own misfortunes. In the main, this was because he never would learn, in the school of experience, the truth about the relation, in a democracy at war, of civil chief and military agent.

The proper adjustment is not always easy to attain. The supremacy of the civil executive, the subordination of the military agent, must be unquestioned. The former, however, must have the ability to recognize the limits upon his own zone of decision. His task it is to define objectives and to provide means for seeking them; but the civil chief is ill-advised to seek to direct actual field operations.

The relation of President and general calls for largeness on both sides. If confidence does not exist between the two, distress is ahead. Each should understand the other's mind processes and emotional attitudes. If the commander loses the confidence of the civil chief, he should resign or be dismissed. Should the President refuse his confidence to his commander or permit intrigues to cripple the latter's campaigns, generally the result is disaster. Should the general decline to disclose his purposes, in the broad, to his chief, he cannot expect thoroughgoing support.

The relations of Lincoln and McClellan afford ample documentation for the observations above. The faults were grievous and were about as conspicuous on Lincoln's side as on the general's. Added weight was given to the President's initial uncouthness as constitutional commander in chief by the political bias and

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professional and personal venom of his immediate aides, Stanton, Halleck, etc., and the bitter partisanship of the Radicals on Capitol Hill.

But the general early got delusions of grandeur and seemingly made little effort to understand Lincoln or to conduct such an elementary school in military education as the latter needed. Soon after his advent in Washington, McClellan fancied dictatorship his for the grasping; his letters to his wife were laden with expressions of surprise at his own patriotic self-abnegation. His personal attitude to the President seemed compounded of contempt and secrecy. No wonder the Man from Springfield was forced to interview the general's jealous division commanders to learn anything about the army. In the first eight months of his command, McClellan's was the chief fault. In the actual campaign period main responsibility for misunderstanding and blunder would seem to attach to the White House and the War Department.

The authors of this volume, whose knowledge of the actual terrain of the Civil War theater in the East is excelled by few, have written a first-rate book about McClellan the driller, organizer, and master of logistics; likewise about McClellan the idol of his men. Its style is good; its argumentation persuasive. They base their high estimate of this "Napoleon of the West" chiefly on his skill in organizing and instructing the Army of the Potomac and then on his actual field command during the Peninsular Campaign, the Seven Days' Battles around Richmond, and the Antietam Campaign. The presentation of McClellan's relations with Lincoln is a good deal less satisfactory, as is the treatment of the 1864 election campaign. The story of his postwar life is pleasingly told; he seemed to mellow well.

In the political field Dr. Eckenrode and Colonel Conrad point out, and quite correctly, that McClellan was a conservative, state rights Democrat. This attachment to "the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is" affords central explanation for much of his conduct. Their assertion that he was circumspect in his relation with Democratic politicians was far from having been true in 1862, whatever might later have been the case. The authors maintain that McClellan sought to be elected President in Lincoln's place, so that his military career would be "vindicated". But it would seem that there was a good deal more behind his purpose than just that.

McClellan was perhaps the best organizer of an army for field service that the Union government had. He knew that an army moves better when well shod. He was right in insisting on shoes, but he was a perfectionist and often insisted on equipment to the last gaiter button. He knew that an epidemic of foot and mouth disease can play hob not only with cavalry reconnaissance and raids but also with wagoning supplies from railhead to the fighting front.

His training was that of an engineer; he had made maps and knew their value. In the Seven Days around Richmond his maps of the region between the Chickahominy and the James were much better than Lee's. McClellan's orders generally were in writing, unlike Lee's practice until after Gettysburg.

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McClellan's much-sneered-at "change of base" from the York to the James was as fine a piece of army planning as was done on either side during the war. His reorganization of the Army of the Potomac after Pope's defeat at Second Manassas was equally outstanding. But from first to last McClellan was not willing to take the calculated risk.

Likewise he seemed to have little concept of the importance of accurate information. He let Allan Pinkerton and his operatives delude him with the most exaggerated ideas of opposing strength. Perhaps this credulity of unpleasant news stemmed out of an inner infirmity of spirit on McClellan's part. He was physically brave but uncertain in spirit.

And yet there is distinguished testimony to support the authors' subtitle of him as "the man who saved the Union". After Appomattox one of General Lee's kinsmen asked him who had been the ablest commander opposed to him. "McClellan, by all odds", was his prompt response.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE FORT MILTON

COMMODORE VANDERBILT: AN EPIC OF THE STEAM AGE. By *Wheaton J. Lane.* [Awarded an Alfred A. Knopf Fellowship in Biography.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xiv, 357, xii. $3.75.)

CORNELIUS Vanderbilt (1794-1877) was the greatest "self-made" native American businessman of the early nineteenth century. The son of a hard-working, tightfisted, Staten Island farmer, at twelve he navigated his father's "periauger"; at sixteen he bought his own boat with money loaned by his parents in return for planting eight acres of impossibly stony land and soon built up a fleet of coastwise sailing vessels. He became a steamboat captain at twenty-four and established his own line at thirty-five, beginning to furnish transportation to California in 1851 and to Havre in 1855. At the end of the Civil War, at an age when most men are ready to retire, he disposed of his steamship interests and turned enthusiastically to railroading, in which he had been somewhat interested for a score of years; before his death, through the building up of the New York Central as a unified system between New York and Chicago, "a railroad empire had been created".

Such a career calls for a commensurate biography, but between W. A. Croffut's pioneer work (1886) and the present volume there appeared no full-length study which, for the time of publication, could be considered adequate in material and treatment, though a "success story" collection without a sketch of the Commodore was inconceivable. Arthur D. Howden Smith's spirited *Commodore Vanderbilt* (1927) is a historical novel rather than a biography. Mr. Lane's biography, on the other hand, based both on printed sources and on manuscripts (few of which, however, were found in the almost nonexistent Vanderbilt archives) and with a bibliographical note to each chapter adequately substituting for footnotes, is almost a model so far as accuracy, sobriety, and conciseness are concerned. If one

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wishes to know Vanderbilt's imagined emotions when, in 1833, on probably his first railroad trip, his car overturned, flung him down a thirty-foot embankment, breaking several ribs and puncturing a lung, one must go elsewhere. But still, the author's intimate acquaintance with the subject, gained through years of research, would seem to warrant more interpretation of Vanderbilt's personality and business methods. The work sometimes resembles an edifice carefully planned and faithfully constructed, of the best material and proportions—but to the interior of which the public is infrequently admitted.

The author records the Commodore's failures as well as successes—whether in a horse race or an attempted "corner"; he is judicious in his moral judgments. In one instance, however—that of Vanderbilt's relations with Mrs. Victoria Claflin Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin, feminists and free-love advocates, who, in 1868, opened a banking account with a check for $7,500 on Vanderbilt's account and set up a brokerage business—he seems overcautious, writing that "there seems no reason to believe that Vanderbilt's interest in the two sisters was other than a friendly one, although there is some evidence that he once considered marrying Miss Tennie". There is something admirable in the author's rigorous avoidance of such tempting pitfalls of sensationalism, even though in warily skirting such snares he narrowly misses falling into that of dryness and nearly makes the Commodore's colorful, rugged, and picturesque character and career seem almost uninteresting. Perhaps a happier middle way might have been found in a greater vividness of description and narrative, but there is little doubt that, as between extremes, the author made the wiser choice. There are plenty of novelists who could "interpret" in highly entertaining fashion Vanderbilt's life and times, but it is to Mr. Lane's carefully worked out and logically arranged facts that historians and economists will turn for authentic information on the transportation magnate's actual achievements.

Vassar College KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

DEMOCRACY'S COLLEGE: THE LAND-GRANT MOVEMENT IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE. By *Earle D. Ross,* Department of History and Government, Iowa State College. (Ames: Iowa State College Press. 1942. Pp. 267. $3.00.)

AMONG the institutions of our usable past and present of which we are relatively ignorant is the land-grant college. Its significance is greater than its existence as one of the types of institutions of higher education. It reflects a peculiar adaptation of ideas, ambitions, and early experiments to American educational needs. It marks an original and fruitful type of Federal policy in which national and state governments have hammered out a co-operative program. It has long been sending a stream of able administrators into our public services—before, in fact, the phrase "training for the public service" had been consciously adopted. And in his account

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and interpretation of this important development down to the "Second Morrill Act" of 1890, Professor Ross has given us an admirable study in American institutional history. His analysis of the origins of the first Morrill Act indicates the significance of many influences in that earlier "coming of age" and "flowering" period prior to the Civil War. A first chapter relates the movement to the widening dissatisfaction with the limited opportunities and traditional methods and content of American education in the first half of the nineteenth century. The "Industrial Movement" for vocational education is then described, and its various leaders and programs noted. Here again the extensive researches of a scholar bring us a wealth of inspiring and continuously pertinent stories out of our past which we need to assimilate in our thinking about contemporary problems.

A third chapter describes in detail the campaign to secure national land grants to obtain support for the plans of the "industrialists". Professor Ross's account of the legislative struggle is an excellent assignment for students of the legislative process, and his examination of the various claims for paternity of the legislation patient and wise. It is significant that "farmers, the especial 'industrial class' for whom the new training was designed, were generally lacking in appreciation" (p. 96). And elsewhere (notably p. 18) the author notes the indifference of the farmer to the movement. It is interesting to read, as to the opposition in Congress, that it was "almost entirely Western" and that the bill was not on Lincoln's "must" list (pp. 64, 65)!

The states did not meet the opportunity with any "positive recognition" of their "responsibilities and opportunities"; and it remained for men of courage and wisdom and vision to translate the possibilities into living institutions. This story is told in the chapters on organization and staff, curriculum and students, "Reconciling Science and Practise", and "Any Person in Any Study". In twenty-five years the new institutions had progressed to a point of such strength and conscious group action that the Hatch Act, authorizing grants for Experimental Stations, could be passed, and the opposition of the endowed colleges to increased grants (an opposition voiced by McCosh and Eliot, among others) could be overcome.

It is to be hoped that Professor Ross will continue the story. He has the skill of covering in his general chapters a wide range of references to specific institutional developments without losing a central thread or the interest of his reader; his style is marked by a quiet wit and humor and a humane evaluation of motives and interests; and his notes and bibliography are genuinely valuable for this personal evaluation of materials. Somehow one closes the book with a kind of patriotic pride that out of this welter of forces and difficulties there emerges a great institution, destined to have a profound effect upon our nation, and this without the author's descending at any point to that uncritical sentimentalism which seems so often to be present when the history of an institution is written.

University of Wisconsin JOHN M. GAUS

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UNCLE SAM'S STEPCHILDREN: THE REFORMATION OF UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY, 1865-1887. By *Loring Benson Priest.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1942. Pp. x, 310. $3.75.)

ALTHOUGH by no means the first thoughtful study of our national treatment of the Indian or of the complex administrative and legislative problems involved therein, this appears to be the most comprehensive and fully documented book in its announced field. It covers the period of swift and significant change between the close of the Civil War and the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887.

Until about the year 1865 such of the tribes as had not been exterminated by war and disease were commonly disposed of by pushing them off into little-known or unwanted regions and permitting them to exist as best they might under the equivocal status of "domestic dependent nations". Most persons then assumed that they must inevitably die out or "disappear" before the westward march of civilization. At the opening of an era of rapid expansion and population increase, the temporizers and false prophets were suddenly discredited. The radical reforms then found necessary were not mere concessions to sentimentalists and doctrinaires —they were forced upon our government by a radically altered situation. Carl Schurz, coming to office in the year 1877, appears to have been the first Secretary of the Interior seriously to attempt the purification of a notoriously corrupt Indian service.

Dr. Priest's story opens a little earlier than this, with the difficulties of the advisory board of businessmen and philanthropists established by President Grant and the acute interdenominational rivalries that marred his equally well-meant plan for church control of Indian appointments. He recounts the rise of Meacham and Bland and their short-lived organ, the controversial *Council Fire,* as well as the persistent but unsuccessful efforts to transfer the management of the red men from the civilian Department of the Interior to the army. In the course of much lively and often acrimonious debate, the influence of partisan and sectional interests was clearly marked. Most Easterners, by this time farther removed from embarrassing contacts, tended to champion the rights of the dispossessed natives, while Westerners were prepared to go to almost any lengths to suppress them. The unworkable and obsolete treaty system was finally abolished in 1871 in an effort to appease the chronic quarrel between the House and the Senate over the ratification of Indian treaties.

Education is recognized by the author as of prime importance but is assigned less space than the question of individual versus communal land ownership. The striking demonstrations of equal ability so dramatically staged at Hampton and Carlisle revolutionized public opinion, yet Indian schools of all types continued to reach only a small minority.

Theoretically, by the year 1887 this country had overwhelmingly accepted a program of close interracial contacts, abandoning tribalism, the reservation system, and all measures tending to set American Indians apart as a separate and inferior class. Unhappily, the program was pressed with so little force or consistency as to

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leave us, two generations later, with an increasing number of "Indians" heavily interfused with "white" blood, in thousands of cases well educated and adequately self-supporting, all of them technically citizens yet still occupying the anomalous position of bureau-ruled "wards of the government". It is precisely this living issue, newly argued since the administration in 1933 proposed a partial return to a policy of isolation, which gives *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren* particular importance, both as material for fresh study and as a frame of historic reference.

Northampton, Massachusetts ELAINE GOODALE EASTMAN

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND AMERICAN TREATMENT OF ALIEN ENEMY PROPERTY. By *James A. Gathings,* Department of Political Science, Bucknell University. Introduction by Professor Edwin Borchard, Professor of International Law, Yale University. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1940. Pp. xvi, 143. Cloth $3.00, paper $2.50.)

DR. Gathings presents a compact and generally accurate review of the practice of the United States, during and since the Revolutionary War, with respect to the private property of enemies within our borders. He notes that several of the original thirteen states confiscated or sequestrated the private property of British subjects, including residents of England as well as Tories (pp. 15-22); that a policy of inviolability of private enemy property was observed during the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Spanish-American War (p. 31); that private enemy property was confiscated by both sides in the War for Southern Independence (pp. 35-39); and that some of the measures adopted with reference to enemy property during World War I were "in fact, if not in theory, in violation of the principles of international law" (p. 114), under which, he believes, private property is immune from seizure and confiscation (p. 124). He is a little troubled, but not much, by the fact that our Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld the right of a government, under international law, to confiscate enemy property wherever found (pp. 27, 33, 38, 118). He finds that "with the exception of the court decisions, the definite policy which had been adopted by the United States prior to the World War [I] was that private property of enemies was inviolable during war" (p. 45). In the light of the experience of World War I, he concludes that "the action and interpretation of the political department" of our government "has been that the government does not have the right to seize private property of enemies when it declared war, but it would sequestrate property for the duration of the war when it was considered necessary for the good of the state even though such action might not conform with the accepted rules of international law" (p. 128).

Looking to the future, as of 1940, and making a large concession to "actual conditions", Dr. Gathings submits, in italics (p. 124), that "the rules of international law must be modified to permit a state to sequestrate private property of enemies or allies of enemies when it goes to war". He is tough-minded enough to

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realize that the doctrine of complete inviolability of enemy property does not make sense in the modern world. He does not follow through, however, to the realization that the doctrine, stemming back to Vattel's law of nations as it should be, has never made sense and has never formed a part of genuine international law. The facts which he presents in regard to the actual treatment of enemy property, in other countries (pp. 9-13 and 46-59) as well as in the United States, should have enabled him to see that the degree of immunity which has been accorded to enemy property during the last hundred years or so has been based not on law but on policy, and that throughout this period the rights of war under "the general and strict law of nations", referred to by the Supreme Court in Ware *v.* Hylton (1796), have only awaited appropriate occasions for their application.

Washington, D. C. EDGAR TURLINGTON

AMERICAN TAXATION: ITS HISTORY AS A SOCIAL FORCE IN DEMOCRACY. By *Sidney Ratner*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1942. Pp. 561. $4.50.)

STEEPED in classical doctrine, American economists have generally insisted that taxation should be used only for fiscal purposes—to raise revenue—and that the fiscal aim should not be confused by efforts to employ taxation as an instrument of social justice or to achieve economic welfare. Not so the common people. They have long perceived that the power to tax might be used to perpetuate class distinctions, to create large fortunes, and to defeat the democratic ideal of equal opportunity. The power to tax is not only the power to destroy, as Marshall said; it is also the power to govern and to maintain privilege.

Professor Ratner has traced the struggle to employ taxation as a social force from the framing of the Constitution to the tax legislation of 1941. His main attention has been directed to the Federal income tax, and more recently to gift, estate, and excess profits taxes, though he has not neglected tariff duties. The result is a fresh and penetrating analysis of the efforts to employ taxation as a democratic instrument of social control of business and as a means of achieving a better distribution of wealth and income. It is a study which was much needed and has been excellently carried out by the author, who has done an enormous amount of reading and careful sifting of facts.

After examining the source of the taxing power in the Constitution, Professor Ratner traces the development of the first clash of two conflicting theories in the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian programs. This opposition appeared again in the era of Jacksonian democracy, when the first rather feeble experiments were made with state income and inheritance taxes. It remained for the Civil War, however, to produce a Federal income and inheritance tax which introduced an element of equality in the assessment of the greatly enlarged tax burdens, though this was largely offset by increases in tariff duties and the introduction of numerous and

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vexatious excise taxes. Pressure politics after the war brought about the repeal of the income and inheritance taxes on the well-to-do but left the indirect taxes to be paid largely by the masses. Whether as a consequence or not, this was the period of the growth of large fortunes.

The Populist revolt against privilege, buttressed by tax exemption and governmental favors, is assigned its rightful place in American history as a democratic protest against plutocratic misuse of political power. The thirty years following its defeat in 1896 witnessed a growing social consciousness of the need for reform. The enactment of the income tax amendment in 1913 and the passage shortly thereafter of a progressive income tax law constituted a major victory for those who wished to employ taxation as a means of redressing economic inequalities. To this, under stress of World War I, were soon added estate and excess profits taxes, but these were reduced or abolished after the return to "normalcy".

The New Deal introduced the first purposeful attempt to use taxation to place a larger share of the tax burden on persons of great wealth and to effect a redistribution of that wealth, though the need for relief and recovery interfered with the full realization of this program. The outbreak of World War II, with its requirements for greatly increased revenues, has once more pushed to the front the question of who is to pay the new taxes.

Professor Ratner concludes that prior to 1913 the distribution of the Federal tax burden had little relation to the individual's ability to pay. While this has been slightly rectified, the present situation is a critical one. The century-old struggle is still being waged.

New York City ERNEST L. BOGART

"THE PLAIN DEALER": ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN CLEVELAND. By *Archer H. Shaw.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xiii, 402, xvii. $4.00.)

THE *Cleveland Plain Dealer* is one of the great American newspapers and fully deserves this full-length historical treatment. Since the life of the *Plain Dealer,* like that of any good paper, has been integrated with that of its city, Mr. Shaw becomes also the historian of Cleveland; at least, he seldom loses sight of the city's development and has three chapters specifically devoted to that phase of his story.

This is a competent book, but it has the fault which is characteristic of most of our full-length biographies of newspapers. Written by a long-time member of the paper's staff, it is almost inevitably panegyrical in tone. Not that Mr. Shaw omits the shadier parts of his paper's career; he has for them an indulgent smile, for it's a grand old paper after all.

As a matter of fact the *Plain Dealer* was begun in 1827 as the *Independent News-Letter,* which became the *Advertiser* five years later and the *Plain Dealer* ten years after that; but the paper has always chosen to regard 1842, when it was

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given the present name, as its founding date. Its history is divided into three periods, determined by the ownership of J. W. Gray, William W. Armstrong, and Liberty E. Holden and his heirs. Though long a famous paper, strongly Democratic and even Copperhead for a time, it was really prosperous only in the last third of its career.

Mr. Shaw has not done as thorough a job on Artemus Ward as one might expect. He gives a chapter to that most famous of early *Plain Dealer* editors; but he has not taken the pains to trace Charles F. Brown's development as a wit through his newspaper column up to its climax in the birth of Artemus Ward, nor does he mention the Paulding County Hyena hoax.

The last chapter of the book is given to the editorial in which the *Plain Dealer* rejected the Roosevelt candidacy in 1940. This is called the paper's "most famous" editorial. It is easy to ascribe disproportionate importance to recent things, and fame is often temporary and elusive. That editorial had its moment, but one may doubt whether it was the greatest moment in a century's history.

The book is readable, illustrated, and well indexed.

State University of Iowa FRANK LUTHER MOTT

THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN NEW YORK STATE, 1867-1940. By *David M. Schneider,* Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, New York State Department of Social Welfare, and *Albert Deutsch.* [Social Service Monographs.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. xix, 410. $3.50.)

THE scholarly work begun by Dr. Schneider and presented in a previous volume under the same title for the period 1609-1866 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLV, 162-63) continues and completes, with the aid of Mr. Deutsch, a lucid, compact, and remarkable survey of a most important chapter in the history of the social development of the United States. This volume fulfills the promise of the first, and because it brings the record down to our own times, it reveals significant facts and causes that cannot fail to help solve some of the most baffling social problems of today not only in New York State but throughout the nation.

It is fortunate that the methods pursued by Dr. Schneider and his associates—the clear insight and imagination, the cool and unemotional judgment and analysis, and the brief, restrained, but complete recital of significant events—should have dealt with New York State, with its large and complex population and wealth of resources. Yet it is demonstrated conclusively that its problems are not those alone of New York or any one state but of all, and that the value of this study will be proportionate to its use and application throughout the nation. It may well serve as a model for similar studies of other typical states, if not of all of them, before social reconstruction well under way prior to the present war but greatly accentuated by it will go forward as it must in the postwar era.

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In the period under consideration it took seventy years to bring state supervision in public welfare to complete fruition and to conserve local initiative, resourcefulness, and responsibility. No sooner was this finally achieved by constitutional amendment in 1938 than the newer problems of a three-way adjustment between the local, state, and Federal governments in the administration of welfare programs began pressing for solution. The foundations, however, have been laid, and the experience of the past two decades with mothers' pensions, and the problems of industrial depressions, so ably studied by Schneider and Deutsch, give great promise of success in maintaining the tempo of social progress in dealing with the social insurances and other measures that condition the future.

The chronological list of chief events in social welfare in New York State, 1626-1940, is useful and greatly aids the reader in getting a good historical perspective of the subject matter treated, and there are several well-selected statistical summaries of essential facts in the appendix. Carefully selected bibliographical references, following the plan of the first volume, add greatly to the value of topical discussion of the several chapters. It is curious to find in a survey so well rounded and judiciously critical that there are only three very brief references to child labor legislation in a state where for two decades at least, from 1890 to 1910, organized public efforts to abolish the evils of child labor set the pace for New York and the other industrial states of the Union.

Columbia University SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY

MR. DOOLEY'S AMERICA: A LIFE OF FINLEY PETER DUNNE. By *Elmer Ellis.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. Pp. x, 310, vii. $3.00.)

DESPITE its great contemporary influence and the mass of humorous writing, there is comparatively little serious study of American humor. Dr. Ellis has attempted such a study of a humorist whose influence was national and of longer duration than that of most American humorists. For more than thirty years Dunne's creations, Mr. Dooley, the Irish saloonkeeper of Archey Road, and his audience, Mr. Hennessey, were national figures, as real to the American public as the characters of Dickens were to the English-speaking public of their time. Dr. Ellis's work shows extensive research and a sympathetic but not unduly eulogistic interest in his subject. He quotes liberally and with discrimination. Dunne's career is traced from his boyhood environment in Chicago to his employment at seventeen on the staff of the Chicago *Times,* through the years of Mr. Dooley and of Dunne's declining productivity preceding his death in 1936 at the age of sixty-nine. Not only his famous humorous sketches are discussed but also his more serious work, like the essays of "The Interpreter's House" in the *American Magazine.* Though never widely popular, Dr. Ellis rightly considers these often equal in insight and literary merit to the best of Dooley. Even those to whom Mr. Dooley and Mr. Hennessey were constantly quoted contemporaries

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will find much that will be new to them not only in the biography of Dunne but in the recital of local and general conditions on which Mr. Dooley commented.

One reviewer has suggested that a more accurate title for the book would be "America's Mr. Dooley", for one feels after reading it that it was the impact of conditions that made Mr. Dooley and not Mr. Dooley who made conditions, though he was an influence. The varied group of his admirers included the average reader of syndicated periodical articles, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Adams, and Henry James. He was no militant muckraker, sharp as his satire often was.

"As Dunne accepted human nature as part of his environment", says Dr. Ellis, "he never suffered from the frustration of defeat that comes to the short-sighted; as he did not expect Utopia, he was not shocked that it did not follow his preachments. 'A man that'd expict to thrain lobsters to fly in a year [said Mr. Dooley] is called a loonytic; but a man that thinks men can be turned into angels be an iliction is called a rayformer an' remains at large.'"

One of the best tests of one's knowledge of the history of a period or locality is the extent to which he understands and appreciates its humor. The successful humorist must discuss facts and actual conditions. His lapses from strict verity must be like the distortions of a topographical map, emphasizing rather than misleading. This fidelity to the detailed life of its time gives humor much of its value to the social historian. It carries its own penalty, for it definitely dates the humorist. Only a few immortals have escaped the failing interest which time brings to things no longer of contemporary import. Will Rogers, whose daily comments made him a social and political force, is seldom quoted now; Artemus Ward and Josh Billings are seldom even remembered.

It is uncertain how much of the interest of this book is reminiscent to those who knew Mr. Dooley as he appeared in the current press. Many of the sketches have lost their current interest. Their outmoded Irish dialect contributes to this but is not entirely responsible. Dr. Ellis concludes that "It would be a rash commentator who would try to prove that Peter Dunne's essay will not be as timely two thousand years from now as Theophrastus is today." Without committing one's self that far, it is safe to say that as a side light on a period too close to be definitely evaluated and too distant for detailed firsthand knowledge by any but those approaching or past middle life, Dr. Ellis's book is a real contribution to American social history.

University of Minnesota FRANK K. WALTER

THE CARIBBEAN DANGER ZONE. By *J. Fred Rippy*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1940. Pp. xii, 296. $3.00.)

THIS timely book should be for students and practitioners of foreign policy the most valuable general introduction to the Caribbean activities of the government of the United States. It brings into brief compass the results of numerous special

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studies, published and unpublished, including extensive researches by Professor Rippy and assistants in British and American archives. At most points it reflects independent valuation and selection of material.

"The policy of the United States in respect to the Caribbean area", states Rippy, "may be defined with greater precision than its policy with reference to any other region" (p. 14). Its basic maxim is "the domination of the area at least to the extent deemed necessary to prevent its domination by any other strong power". This maxim has been elaborated at different times in different ways, with various effects. Rippy reviews briefly early attempts to implement the policy by brandishing the Monroe Doctrine. More systematic attention is given to the evolution of the Roosevelt (T. R.) corollary, Isthmian policy, the quest of naval bases, "dollar diplomacy" and the protectorates, and investment policy. Occasional reference is made to a goal of "improvement" of Caribbean areas. In conclusion, there is a brief survey of the rise of the good neighbor policy and a more general appraisal of relations with Latin America in the present crisis.

Not the least important result of Rippy's researches has been to emphasize the fact that a considerable history lies back of each of the variations of Caribbean policy, that none of them can be satisfactorily limited to a particular period, and that the several threads of policy in operation have been intimately intertwined and have supported each other in important ways. Thus while Rippy insists upon political and strategic goals as the controlling forces in the action of our State Department, he is very sensitive to their interrelations with finance. In this respect techniques are not sharply distinguished from goals, as indeed they cannot be except at a more abstract level of analysis than is here adopted. Dollar diplomacy is, however, redefined as "political finance". The Theodore Roosevelt administration was almost as active as that of Taft in seeking opportunities for investment bankers. In most cases, however, it is insisted that political considerations were involved. The closest approximation to a "divestment" of loan policy from political goals came with the Harding and Coolidge administrations, and it was never conspicuous in the Caribbean area.

In view of these conclusions, it seems that Rippy has somewhat overemphasized the point that restriction of foreign borrowings to the American market was a separable State Department goal. The evidence presented in chapter XI is insufficient to establish this interpretation as a general policy, however correct it may be in particular instances. In one case, for instance, that of the Speyer loan contract of 1904 with Cuba, Rippy confuses the market in which the loan was primarily offered with that in which it was effectively placed. He fails also to note that the quasi-public loan to the Cuban Ports Company in 1911 was marketed in London. The subsequent 1918 government bonds were issued to Cuban Ports bondholders, not shareholders. The analysis here is handicapped by limitation of the investigation to data emerging from official documents and the exclusion of such nongovernmental activities as direct investments.

From the standpoint of policy for the immediate future, it seems unfortunate

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that Rippy's treatment of the varied protectorates does not discriminate clearly the different shadings of policy in different countries and indeed does not analyze the operations of the Platt Amendment at all. Moreover, he emphasizes negative aspects of the controls to the almost complete exclusion of positive activities, for good or ill, in such matters as sanitation, public works, exploitation of mineral and agricultural resources, legal codification, electoral reform, etc. Few of these could be viewed in themselves as detachable goals of policy. But collectively they have been the concrete substance of the "civilizing mission" which, Rippy hints (p. 242), may have been a distinct objective. Moreover, Rippy might emphasize more strongly the way in which each "control" as established became an independent political objective and became linked to subordinate purposes, positive and negative, which could be construed as tending to uphold the control in question. The "pyramiding" of secondary objectives is not the least instructive aspect of Caribbean history and points to a tendency of policy that needs to be diligently regarded as we shape anew positive policies of co-operation with our neighbors.

Wellesley College LELAND H. JENKS

THE PANAMA CANAL IN PEACE AND WAR. By *Norman J. Padelford*, Professor of International Law, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xii, 327. $3.00.)

THIS is a timely and a scholarly volume. The opening chapter briefly and concisely explains why manifest destiny impelled the United States to acquire and fortify an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Goethals, whose "ability and moral authority saved the day for the Canal undertaking", was only one of a handful of leaders whose vision and determination made possible this great enterprise. The various treaties, laws, conventions, and decrees upon which rest American rights and powers are analyzed. Noteworthy are the relinquishment of the right of intervention in Panama by the United States in 1936 and the note of 1939 which gave this country formal written permission to take military measures for the defense of the canal within the jurisdiction of Panama.

Extreme diligence and precaution have marked the regulation of the canal in times of peace, in accordance with the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912. To this reviewer the most interesting chapter in the volume is that describing the canal in time of war. From the beginning the government has regarded the canal as an instrument of national defense. While agreements with Great Britain and Panama provide that its entrance "shall be neutral in perpetuity", the canal has not been neutralized in the fullest sense of the word.

The longest chapter in the book is that dealing with the administration of the canal. While the Panama Canal Zone is "territory under the control and jurisdiction of the United States", this government did not acquire absolute

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sovereignty over the zone. An accompanying chart renders clear the highly centralized administrative organization of the canal and the Panama Railroad Company. It should be a source of pride to every American citizen to be assured that since 1914 the governors, who hold one of the most exacting positions in the United States government, and their ranking assistants have, to a remarkable degree, maintained a continuous sequence of high standards in dealing with such an array of diverse problems incident to their positions. An evaluation of the economic significance of the canal is illustrated by numerous tables of statistics and graphs.

There is an adequate index. Though no formal bibliography is included, the book is carefully documented. There are two maps, one of the canal proper and another showing the principal trade routes through the canal. The author has done a thoroughgoing piece of work. If there are any who have entertained any doubts as to the importance of this strategic waterway, either from the point of view of commerce or of national defense, even a casual perusal of Professor Padelford's book will speedily dispel any such reservations.

Tulane University JAMES E. WINSTON

THE BOULDER CANYON PROJECT: HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. By *Paul L. Kleinsorge,* Assistant Professor of Economics and Business Administration, Oregon State College. With a Foreword by Eliot Jones. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 330. $3.50.)

AMERICAN engineers have won a place of pre-eminence. They have won it by accomplishing colossal tasks both at home and abroad (as in the U.S.S.R.). Bryce, who had sound historical perspective, spoke of the construction of the Panama Canal as the greatest engineering feat of all time, one that might well remain unique. Yet the subjugation of the Colorado River—a river that became dangerous during the spring floods and showed a malign disposition to leap over its banks, inundate vast areas, and destroy prosperous communities—was not an inferior performance.

There were difficult problems to solve. To take one matter that might seem of minor concern, the Colorado has an extraordinarily high silt content—ten times that of the Nile, three times that of the Ganges. The silt, when carried in irrigation ditches and deposited on cultivated land, had much the effect of Portland cement: it closed the pores of the soil. It had a decisive effect in changing the course of the river as the channel became clogged. Professor Kleinsorge, looking back through ten thousand years, tells how the river, breaking its northwest bank, has at times converted the Salton Basin into an inland sea. There is little comfort in the knowledge that it has not done so for the past few hundred years. Silt was just one of the problems that confronted the engineers.

The advantages of taming the Colorado have been almost incalculable. Not

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only has a great area of farming country been relieved of a haunting menace of destruction and furnished (by means of the All-American Canal) with an abundant supply of water for irrigation, but the river now provides cheap electric power and (by means of an aqueduct and pumping plants) drinking water for Los Angeles and cities farther south. Here we have a concentrated plan that looks to flood control, reclamation, water storage, electric power—and, according to the interstate compact and the congressional statute, navigation. Only to satisfy constitutional requirements does navigation find a place. Most certainly the project did not further the ends of navigation. But the Supreme Court felt (1931) that it could not go beyond the language of the Boulder Canyon Project Act and inquire into the motives of Congress, although it had done so occasionally in the past. Constitutional issues are not dead. In March, 1939, when Arizona ratified the interstate compact, it did so with a reservation that required concessions from Nevada and California. The concessions have not been made. A year after Professor Kleinsorge finished his book Arizona still stands aloof.

Professor Kleinsorge has been comprehensive. He has dealt in detail with every major phase of an intricate subject. One is impressed by his accuracy, his gift for orderly arrangement, and the fairness of his comments and conclusions. On the other hand, what he has written about a truly historic achievement falls short of being a saga. His song, unlike Milton's, does not soar above the Aonian mount even with a middle flight. It is only in occasional brief passages that he gives a large significance to the recital of facts and figures. Even so, scholarship is often more desirable than artistry and eloquence.

Pomona College EDWARD MCCHESNEY SAIT

CORDELL HULL: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Harold B. Hinton*. With a Foreword by Sumner Welles. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1942. Pp. xi, 377. $3.00.)

THIS first "full-length" biography of our Secretary of State reveals him as typical of America as Abraham Lincoln; in fact, he is more typical because he has had to meet less extreme situations. He came from the common people of the Tennessee hills and through ability, industry, and political sagacity rose to preeminence in honor and in the service of his countrymen, much as did the Great Emancipator, who was born only a few miles farther north. He did not, however, rise from quite the same extreme early poverty and family obscurity, nor did he have to meet quite the same extremely difficult problems in the position of ultimate responsibility as did Lincoln.

Major Hinton is unusually qualified to write a biography of Secretary Hull. His father was circuit court clerk for many years and lived at Jamestown, Tennessee, in Judge Cordell Hull's circuit. He has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York *Times* for twenty years and covered the development of Amer-

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ican foreign policy at the State Department and at the Capitol for nine years.

The biography tells of Hull's boyhood and early education, including his study of law and election to the Tennessee legislature before he was twenty-one, his experience in that legislature, his service as a circuit judge, and his election to Congress. His congressional career, particularly his part as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means and his sponsorship of the Federal income tax, is treated much more fully, as is his part in the councils of the Democratic party and the reorganization of the leadership and policies of that party following the defeat of President Wilson's campaign for the League of Nations.

The author's chapter dealing with the latter matter, when Hull was chairman of the National Democratic Committee, is entitled "The Rebirth of the Democratic Party" and shows Hull in an unusual role, that is, in the forefront of the political battle, whereas his characteristic place was behind the scenes as a molder of plans and policies, a composer of differences and a harmonizer of dissident elements, a planner of action and a selector of leaders more than an actor himself.

Perhaps Mr. Hinton's greatest contribution in this volume is the light that he throws upon Mr. Hull's role and policies as Secretary of State. This is very natural, as this is the period when he has seen most of Mr. Hull and it is also the period in which Mr. Hull has been most in the public eye, not only of America but of the world. Revealed as outstanding are Mr. Hull's faith in democracy and his steadfast attempt, in spite of heavy odds, to promote free and cordial international trade and relations as the surest and soundest road to world peace and prosperity.

With many a light touch and also with others less subtle it is made perfectly clear that Mr. Hull has been far from happy with many if not most of his New Deal associates, especially the smart young left-wingers, and yet, despite all the light which the biographer has thrown upon the instinctively shrewd, diplomatic, and forthright prime minister, the reader not intimately acquainted with Messrs. Hull and Roosevelt—with two utterly different personalities—will probably remain puzzled how they could have maintained their partnership as they have, each with a record longer than that of any of his many predecessors.

University of Minnesota ROY G. BLAKEY

CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION, LTD. By *Edward S. Corwin.* (Claremont: Claremont Colleges. 1941. Pp. ix, 121. $2.00.)

FEDERALISM AS A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: ESSAYS. By *Roscoe Pound, Charles H. McIlwain, Roy F. Nichols.* [Rutgers University, Publications of the One Hundred Seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebration, Number Two.] (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1942. Pp. 90. $1.25.)

THESE little books possess a double attraction. They bear the stamp of high academic prestige; and they deal—although from different aspects—with the momentous question of American federalism. Curiously enough, the corpse-like

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pallor of our states, so obvious during the last half-dozen years, evokes no concern. Dean Pound worships at the federal shrine. His god is still a reality, not a mere tradition, not an old faith, infirm or dead. The growth of an urban industrial society has somewhat changed the meaning of the creed; that is all. Professor Corwin does not bother about orthodoxy. He simply finds that government has intruded into the social and economic spheres and that this has led to an accretion of national as against local, and executive as against legislative, power.

Professor Corwin admits that a revolution has occurred, during the past few years, in the region of constitutional law. He does not evade the questions that are being asked: What has happened to (1) the Supreme Court as the expositor of that law and (2) the traditional division of powers between state and nation? In the light of judicial precedents he finds that the court, by 1935, had involved itself in so many contradictions that it could now take either a broad or narrow view of the commerce clause—uphold or invalidate the legislation of the New Deal. The shift in favor of the New Deal took place in advance of any change of personnel. It should be attributed not to the President's proposals of February, 1937, but to the election of the previous year and to the C.I.O. strikes in Detroit, the latter suggesting the alternative of anarchy or national control. Whatever the reasons may be, the attitude of the court has changed fundamentally.

> The establishment of the New Deal upon an indefeasible constitutional basis has unquestionably crowded judicial review of acts of Congress into narrow quarters. . . . Not again for a long time will the Court hold void an act of Congress against which nothing can be said by way of constitutional objection except that it invades the accustomed field of state power and tends to upset the Federal Equilibrium. . . . At the same time, I am far from saying that the conception of Liberty *against* Government is without value any longer, or that Judicial Review, which is its appropriate instrument, should be scrapped.

Indeed, at the moment of retiring from the field of economic policy the court "manifested an increased concern to protect against hasty and prejudiced legislation the citizen's freedom to express his views".

Professor Corwin has an acute and retentive mind, an astonishing mastery of detail. He makes his way through the labyrinth of constitutional law with steps that never hesitate—an accomplished guide who has become familiar with each turn and twist by dint of tireless exploration. He shows an enviable ability to escape from the restraints of technique. In these lectures, however, he often passes to the extreme of carelessness. He misquotes Pope, mistranslates Cicero, and cites Montesquieu incorrectly; he appears to think that Watt invented the steam engine in 1776; his rendering of chapter 39 of Magna Carta is worse than his rendering of Cicero. These are examples, not a catalogue. More serious is his evaluation of J. C. Carter's illuminating treatise on law as "a systematic attack on the Sherman Anti-Trust Act". The deplorable term "dual federalism" appears several times, a term for which the author has the blind affection of paternity and which is supposed to reflect the ideas of Madison in *The Federalist*. One shudders a little over

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the hieroglyphic "and/or". Yet criticism must be incidental. Professor Corwin speaks with authority. Nowhere, within such small compass, has the meaning of the "limited" revolution been set forth so deftly and so lucidly.

Perhaps *Federalism as a Democratic Process* suffers by comparison. It lacks the unity of single authorship and the appeal that a fateful situation of the day always makes. Yet it is stimulating, as the names of the collaborators would suggest; and not less so because the three essays are supplemented by commentaries on the part of Professors Corwin of Princeton and Coker of Yale.

Pomona College EDWARD MCCHESNEY SAIT

AMERICA'S STRATEGY IN WORLD POLITICS: THE UNITED STATES AND THE BALANCE OF POWER. By *Nicholas John Spykman,* Sterling Professor of International Relations, Yale University. [Institute of International Studies, Yale University.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1942. Pp. 500. $3.75.)

THE study of politics in theory and practice has always oscillated between two approaches: that of Saint Thomas and that of Machiavelli, the normative and ideological, and the descriptive and pragmatic. Professor Spykman's analysis of America's foreign policy, both past and future, belongs decidedly to the latter school. It is the belief of this reviewer that the true understanding of politics lies between these poles. Spykman's remarkable study suffers from an excess of cynicism about the reality of ideals as forces shaping human conduct. The quintessence of his conclusions is stated at the outset: "If the foreign policy of a state is to be practical, it should be designed not in terms of some dream world but in terms of the realities of international relations, in terms of power politics." Does this alternative exhaust the available possibilities, or are there policies which might be conceived in terms more inclusive than "power politics" (as defined by the author) and yet not policies conceived in a dream world? Spykman does not think so. Says he: "The statesman who conducts foreign policy can concern himself with values of justice, fairness, and tolerance only to the extent that they contribute to or do not interfere with the power objective. . . . The search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values; moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power." This statement is not an isolated one; similar expressions of opinion are found throughout the book. They are marked overstatements of what would appear the sound view. Insofar as such an approach helps to correct an unrealistic approach, they are valuable. In their neglect of the long-range power of ideals as realities in human society they are themselves misleading. The world we live in is neither heaven nor hell; to depict it as either is to misrepresent it.

The issue may well be illustrated by the author's approach to war. "War has been a constant phenomenon in international relations in all periods of history." True enough. But many things have been "constant phenomena" throughout his-

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tory until the time when they ceased to be so. Slavery, for example. Is it sufficient to remark that "there is a tendency to look upon peace as normal and war as abnormal . . . because of an intellectual confusion resulting from emotional reactions to war"? No less a realist than Thorstein Veblen in 1917 wrote a poignant essay, entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation,* in which he undertook to outline the conditions of a lasting peace. His mordant phrases are hardly to be classed as intellectual confusion, any more than Kant's celebrated essay.

And yet Professor Spykman's explorations are a valuable antidote against such intellectual confusions. Amidst the sea of uncritical emotionalism that is being stirred by the present war, it surely is valuable to ponder the author's coolly documented attack upon the "unity" of the Americas. The problems of the hemisphere and of hemispheric defense constitute the central part of his book. His conclusions are negative. "A common ideological outlook for the Western Hemisphere is an impossible dream", he writes.

Spykman has likewise packed much sound history into his analysis of American relations with Europe and Asia. Whether or not readers will follow him all the way, it surely is a challenge to be told that America "should be guided by a political strategy which demands the preservation of a balance of power in Europe and in Asia, and by the consideration that territorial security and peaceful change are more likely to be achieved if the individual states in the different power zones do not differ too widely in their relative strength". For it follows from this premise that "the main difficulty in the post-war period will be not Japan but China", and that "the United States will have to adopt a similar protective policy toward Japan [similar, that is, to our policy of protecting Britain]".

If space permitted it, an exploration of the underlying assumptions of such a policy should be valuable. But enough of the general approach of the author has been indicated to suggest the answer, except for this observation: democratic government is not adapted to pursuing a foreign policy of balancing powers. The search for a new balance of power in the unhappy period between the two world wars was a vain one. In *Foreign Policy in the Making* I tried to show why the balance of power failed to provide a basis of democratic policy. Its inner logic compels democracy to seek a universal framework for co-operation. Within that framework, power should be balanced. But such a balance is patterned according to a constitution. At the end of his book Professor Spykman refers to the fact that "the founders of the United States were impressed with the value and importance of balanced power". But when he adds that "a similar merit extends to balanced power in international society", he seems to neglect this constitutional framework. For only within a firmly constituted union did the founders expect a balance of powers to work toward peace. Only a national policy which seeks to perpetuate after the war the patterns of co-operation which are emerging at present can claim the full support of the American constitutional tradition.

Harvard University C. J. Friedrich

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LES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS ET LEURS VOISINS DU SUD. Publié sous la direction de *Gustave Lanctot*. [Les relations du Canada avec les États-Unis, James T. Shotwell, directeur.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 322. $3.00.)

A little more than a century ago Lord Durham said of the French Canadians: "They are a people with no history, and no literature." Since 1839, however, it has been amply demonstrated that French Canada has had a past both colorful and significant, and Canadian historians have displayed remarkable diligence and competence in investigating and recording that past. While French Canadians have been charged with insularity and self-sufficiency, it is clear by now that their presence in North America has not been without influence upon peoples living beyond the limits of the province of Quebec, while they in turn have felt the impact of both English and American institutions and ideals. While there are more than 3,000,000 of them living within the Dominion of Canada today, there are some 2,000,000 more of the same race living within the United States. It is appropriate, therefore, that a survey of the relations between the French Canadians and their southern neighbors should be included in Dr. Shotwell's series.

The present volume, consisting of seven essays, has been edited by Dr. Gustave Lanctot, deputy minister in charge of the Public Archives of Canada. These studies range over the entire period of French-Canadian history, and while the approach is largely topical, the several topics are presented in chronological order, so far as practicable. Dr. Lanctot himself contributes three essays: one on Acadia and New England from 1603 to 1673; another relating to Quebec and the American colonies during the Revolutionary era; and the final essay, devoted to Quebec and the United States from 1867 to 1937. Anglo-French relations during the Old Regime are discussed by Raymond Parent; American political influence upon Lower Canada is traced by Jean Bruchesi; and the expansion of French-Canadian religious institutions into the United States is the subject of an essay by the Abbé Georges Robitaille. The role of the French Canadians in North American exploration, fur trading, and missionary activity since the conquest is examined by Benoît Brouillette.

The various essays are based upon careful research, involving many original documents as well as secondary sources. Those which deal with the period prior to the English conquest cover ground that is already fairly familiar, but the succeeding ones contribute a good deal that is new. From 1820 or thereabouts, the political, economic, religious, and social contacts between the French of Quebec and their neighbors in the United States are especially interesting and significant, and these relationships are examined in detail in the last three essays. Following the Civil War, there was manifest a trend toward Americanization in the province of Quebec, relatively weak in the political sphere but very strong economically and almost irresistible in the realm of cultural relations. Dr. Lanctot's survey of the seventy years since Confederation contains a most penetrating analysis of the cultural influences which have emanated from either side of the international

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boundary. Incidentally, it offers a remarkably clear and revealing estimate of French-Canadian character and ideals, which should be studied by anyone who would understand present-day Canada, with its complex political and racial problems.

The several contributors have endeavored to write in a spirit of objectivity, tolerance, and restraint. It implies no criticism, therefore, to say that these French-Canadian scholars have their own racial and cultural viewpoint, to which they consistently adhere and which they make no effort to conceal. This attitude is clearly revealed in the words of Dr. Lanctot, with which the volume concludes: "Le Québec tient à ses relations avec son grand voisin, mais à la condition de garder son entité catholique et française et de sauvegarder sa survivance ethnique." It may be said without exaggeration that this is one of the most interesting and valuable volumes yet to appear in a very distinguished series.

Dartmouth College WAYNE E. STEVENS

FRENCH CANADA & BRITAIN: A NEW INTERPRETATION. By *Arthur Maheux,* Professor of History, Laval University. Translated by *R. M. Saunders,* Professor of History, University of Toronto. [Contemporary Affairs, Canadian Institute of International Affairs.] (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. 121. Cloth $1.50, paper $1.00.)

THIS small book of published lectures is notable as the first French Canadian affirmation of the mild and conciliatory treatment of New France by its British conquerors and, in particular, by Governor James Murray. It is easy to understand why French Canadians have hitherto preferred to accept the unfounded, romantic, self-pitying views of Garneau as to this episode rather than those of a systematic historian like Burt, for throughout their history, under France and Great Britain and within an autonomous Canada, they have found it reassuring to picture themselves as hapless victims of discrimination and bruising ignorance on the part of authority. They are, as it were, the Irish of North America. Their motto, "Soyons nous-mêmes", parallels "Sinn Fein".

Abbé Maheux, in a work based upon some happy archival discoveries of his own as well as upon the already known source materials, has boldly and at the cost of some bitter opposition initiated a new approach. "Your history is an epic", he told his listeners at Laval and his readers elsewhere, but, instead of mere rhetoric congenial to their prejudices, he gave them the facts in order to eliminate hatred and thereby to nourish pride. Using every legitimate method of comparison and of explicit factual detail, he demonstrated irrefutably the many reasons why French Canadians ought to erect a monument to their imaginative friend, Murray, instead of reviling his memory. The reader unacquainted with the spirit of French Canada may wonder why a study of the four years after the conquest need be so elaborate, but that quality is the best possible evidence of the difficulty of the task which the

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author has assumed and plans to continue. External events have been hammering hard on the protective shell of French Canada during the past thirty years. Abbé Maheux's activistic approach to his people's history since 1759 may be unwelcome to many of them, but it holds the promise of being one of the most fruitful principles which they could follow as they shed their defensive passivity.

M. Lucien Lortie has published *Bibliographie analytique de l'oeuvre de l'abbé Arthur Maheux* (Quebec, Ateliers de l'institut St. Jean Bosco, 1942), which contains a short biography.

Columbia University J. B. Brebner

WESTERN ONTARIO AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By *Fred Landon,* the University of Western Ontario. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (Toronto: Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. 1941. Pp. xvi, 305. $3.50.)

According to the author's preface "this volume is not a history of Western Ontario but is, as its title suggests, a study of the influences exerted upon this particular area by neighbouring American communities". Thus, in a sense, it is a record of a region within a region. Western Ontario—the Peninsula—is separated from Eastern Ontario by no striking natural barrier; and it is joined geographically to neighboring parts of the United States by a common system of waterways—the Lower Lakes and their connecting rivers. But two circumstances combined in the years following the American Revolution to give the Peninsula a clearly marked integrity of its own. One of these circumstances was the position of the region, jutting down into American territory and lying directly in the path of immigrants moving westward from the northeastern United States. The other was the fact that it was under British, not American, rule. The first of these circumstances tended to make the district American. The second tended to keep it British. The combination made for conflict but also for a distinctive compromise. It is this conflict and this compromise which give unity to the volume.

Strictly speaking, such a basis of unity would require that the period covered should extend from the American Revolution to the present day. Several considerations, however, have delimited the range of treatment. Chief of all is the appearance of the excellent volumes by Hansen, Burt, and Corey, making unnecessary further treatment of topics they cover.

In other respects the subject matter is more representative. An interesting and perhaps unusual feature of the book is the emphasis which has been placed on the religious aspects of the subject, to the extent of three chapters out of eighteen and many references in other places. As might be expected, attention here has been concentrated mostly on the more evangelical branches of Protestant Christianity, especially Methodism. Other features of the Western Ontario scene which are

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given more or less extensive treatment are the political, the social, the racial, the cultural, and the economic. There are chapters on immigration, education, social reform, labor, agriculture, the War of 1812-14, and the Rebellion of 1837. In all this the author speaks from original sources and without prejudice. If he betrays any bias at all, it may be said that he tends to think from the left.

Throughout the work the style is simple, clear, and easy. The material is well selected and attractively presented. A map of "Upper Canada and Neighbouring American States, Showing Also the Development of Transportation and Settlement in the Eastern Canadian-American Region, 1815-1860", forms the frontispiece. There are, in addition, a well-arranged bibliography and an index. The volume shares the excellent qualities of printing and publishing which mark the series.

Queens College JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA: AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY WITH SELECT DOCUMENTS. By *S. D. Clark,* Lecturer in Sociology, University of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. x, 484. $4.00.)

THE literature of Canadian history is curiously spotty. Political, constitutional, and diplomatic developments before 1896 have been thoroughly explored. The study of economic institutions has drawn the attention of brilliant scholars whose works appear with impressive regularity. But the field of social history, however defined, has been neglected by the professional historian. It appears now that the economist and the sociologist may monopolize it.

The scope of the book in hand needs explanation, for the title is misleading. This is not a connected and continuous social history but a collection of documents illustrating the process of institutional development in frontier areas. Since the word has assumed a protean character, it is well to define Mr. Clark's "frontier": "it is taken here to refer to the development of new forms of economic enterprise". The zones selected are the fur trade of New France; the fisheries of the Maritime Provinces to 1850; the lumber trade of Ontario in the nineteenth century; the mining frontiers of British Columbia and the Yukon; and what is described as "the transcontinental railways and industrial capitalist society". Each of the five sections of the book is prefaced by an essay of twenty pages designed to show the relation of the particular environment to the development of institutions. The documents that follow are arranged, without comment, under appropriate titles. Perhaps a few words of evaluation would have enhanced the worth of each source.

Those who are familiar with the works of H. A. Innis, A. R. M. Lower, and other students of the staple industries, who constitute what has been called "The Toronto School", will find that Mr. Clark has based many of his conclusions on

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their findings. Indeed the present work was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Innis and stands as a documentation of the hypotheses which he has advanced.

Students of the frontier in the United States will find it a sobering experience to read this book. Canadian frontiers have been studied, it may be asserted, with more detachment than Turner and his disciples could bring to their tasks. If one may assume that the processes of settlement parallel—but do not coincide with—those in the United States, then the conclusions of Innis, Lower, and Clark must be put down as support for Professor Pierson and other critics of the basic Turner hypothesis. Clark's essays and documents emphasize the deteriorative and destructive effect of the frontier on personality and institutions. It will be granted that he stresses the penological problems, but with proper allowance for that distortion, the frontier emerges from his study as a coffin, not a cradle, of humanitarian ideas. He presents little evidence to support the hazy optimism of Turner; and his conclusions about the successful efforts of England to preserve the loyalty of the frontiersmen seem to refute the contention that the frontier is the ark of the nationalist covenant. The sense of national destiny, proclaimed in Turner, is less conspicuous than the sense of insecurity and localism. These deviations cannot be enlarged upon here, but the importance of studying the Canadian frontiers—so often settled by Americans—is suggested to the Turner revisionists.

Hamilton College THOMAS H. LE DUC

CRUSADERS OF THE RÍO GRANDE: THE STORY OF DON DIEGO DE VARGAS AND THE RECONQUEST AND REFOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO. By *J. Manuel Espinosa,* Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University (Chicago). [Institute of Jesuit History Publications.] (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1942. Pp. xx, 410. $4.00.)

ANNUALLY Santa Fe holds a fiesta which commemorates the reconquest of New Mexico under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas in 1692. This celebration is a tribute to the contribution which Vargas made to Southwestern history in recovering for Spain the vast northern frontier of New Spain which had been lost through the successful Indian revolt of 1680. In addition to his military and colonizing achievements Vargas left a remarkably complete record of his activities. Four *legajos* which have reposed in the Archivo General de Indias for more than a century and a half contain over six thousand manuscript pages telling of his successes during the reconquest and of the difficulties he had with his successor in the governorship of New Mexico. Photographic copies of this entire collection were secured by the Library of Congress through its European Mission in Spain in 1929. There are also some supplemental documents and considerable duplicate material in the archives at Mexico and Santa Fe.

Using this source material, Dr. Espinosa under the title, *Crusaders of the Río Grande,* has retold the story of the two expeditions of reconquest, the re-establish-

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ment of Spanish rule, and the work of reorganizing colonial life in New Mexico. The account follows very closely the entries in the journals of Vargas and at times appears to be simply a paraphrasing of the records he left. Day by day the movements of the Spaniards are chronicled and their dealings with the natives set forth. The description of the first expedition in 1692-93 does not add to the presentation given in the author's *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1940). The second expedition of 1693 and the attempted Indian revolt of 1696 cover new ground and portray the successful completion of the mission of the reconqueror. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the difficulties of Vargas with his successor, Governor Cubero, and his final vindication and restoration to the governorship. Here appear the details of border politics as developed under the auspices of the viceroy of New Spain and the Spanish crown.

The preface is devoted to a survey of the treatment of the reconquest by previous historians, in which the defects of the works mentioned are indicated. An introductory chapter gives the meager details which are known regarding the life of Vargas prior to his New Mexican exploits. The source materials in the various archives are listed, but no detailed descriptions of the documents or indications as to their relationships are given. There are also an unannotated bibliography and a number of maps. Unfortunately there is no map showing the routes of the second expedition, and many places mentioned in the text are not found on the maps which are included. The volume presents, almost in the words of the actors, a fascinating and vivid picture of Spanish frontier activities at the close of the seventeenth century. It is a valuable addition to the historical literature treating of an interesting phase of Spanish colonization in North America.

Washington, D. C. ROSCOE R. HILL

BOLIVAR: THE LIFE OF AN IDEALIST. By *Emil Ludwig*. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation. 1942. Pp. xi, 362. $3.50.)

BIOGRAPHIES have been composed in English, French, and Spanish concerning the life of Simón Bolívar. The publisher of *Bolivar* mistakenly states that the group of distinguished Venezuelan historical scholars known as "the Academia di [*sic*] Historia of Venezuela singled out Emil Ludwig to write the life of South America's most important historical figure". In the foreword the author declares that his book "was presented to the government of Venezuela in 1938, but publication was postponed because of the death of the first translator and because of some technical circumstances".

Curiously enough, the name of the person who translated the life into English is not given. As the translator was admittedly selected by Ludwig, however, it is to be presumed that the task of translation was performed in a manner satisfactory to the author. Though the biography has already been placed on sale in a Spanish dress in Mexican bookstores, the reviewer has not been able to place his hands

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upon the original German text, from which presumably both the English and the Spanish versions have been derived.

Bolivar is written in the manner used by Ludwig in other biographies. That part of this biography devoted to the early life of the hero is very long. Page 75 is reached before mention is made of his arrival in London in 1810 as an agent—not an "ambassador", as the text erroneously states—of the junta set up at Caracas. This biography describes in a vivid, interesting, and imaginative style important circumstances in the life of Bolívar. Special attention is paid to his thoughts concerning international relations. Not only does this biography interpret events, but it endeavors to explain them in the light of what the author believes to be the psychology of his subject. To readers who have never heard of Clio this may appear to be the main strength of the book, but to a critical student of history this is certainly one cause of its prevailing weaknesses. In certain portions of the book the author even undertakes to reveal the inner and unexpressed thoughts of Bolívar. Moreover, an underlying framework which would furnish the proper background for an understanding of the Liberator's varied and dramatic activities is often absent. Only a few pages are devoted to a description of one of the most important and dramatic events in the Spanish-American wars for liberation—the momentous and much-discussed interview between Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil. While the Venezuelan Liberator's liaison with the glamorous Manuela Saenz, the wife of an Englishman residing at Quito, is discussed in several places, only six pages are employed in a consideration of what should be prime material for a psychologist, the *Diario de Bucaramanga,* which some of Bolívar's biographers are inclined to accept as an authentic document that indicates what his thoughts were at a critical juncture.

The last part of this work contains many excerpts from Bolívar's letters. Perhaps it is typical that the translation of a part of his invitation to American nations to send delegates to a congress on the Isthmus of Panama is not rendered in accordance with accepted standards. The book is absolutely devoid of footnotes which might direct a curious reader to the sources of the author's information. Instead of a formal bibliography, the volume contains only a sweeping acknowledgment of the usefulness of the monumental collection of Bolívar's letters edited by the distinguished Venezuelan scholar, Vicente Lecuna, as well as of the incomplete study by Jules Mancini and of the volumes on San Martín by the Argentine master, Bartolomé Mitre. In addition there is found in the foreword the intriguing statement that "the advice of some outstanding Venezuelan scholars" has prevented the author "from making many errors".

In sum, because of its impressionistic treatment and because of the commendable increase of interest in things Latin-American, Ludwig's biography of Simón Bolívar may interest the general reader. It will, however, be of little use to historical scholars.

University of Illinois WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

A DOCUMENTED CHRONOLOGY OF ROUMANIAN HISTORY, FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Matila Costieuscu Ghyka.* Translated from the French by *Fernand G. Renier* and *Anne Cliff.* (New York, William Salloch, 1942, pp. 135, $1.50.)

HIGHLIGHTS OF JEWISH HISTORY. By Mrs. *Trude Weiss Rosmarin.* [Jewish People's Library.] (New York, Jewish Book Club, 1941, pp. 96, 60 cents.)

THE INDEX OF CHRISTIAN ART AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY: A HANDBOOK. By *Helen Woodruff.* With a Foreword by Charles Rufus Morey. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. ix, 83, $1.00.)

THE CHURCH THROUGH THE AGES: A STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By *Theodore G. Tappert.* [Lutheran Leadership Course.] (Philadelphia, United Lutheran Publication House, 1941, pp. 144, 50 cents.)

PROGRESS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Bulletin No. 17. By *S. Harrison Thomson.* (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1942, pp. 131, 75 cents.) It is a pleasure to note once again the regular appearance of this now indispensable Bulletin. Like earlier issues, this volume reflects on each page the debt that medieval and Renaissance scholars owe Professor Thomson for his determined and successful efforts not only to keep the work alive but also to make it of service to as wide a group as possible. The review articles are contributed by J. R. Cresswell, who surveys "Recent American Scholasticism", Guido Kisch, who writes "A Decade of Research in Medieval Legal History", and O. H. Green, who analyzes "Studies on the Literature of the Spanish Renaissance", an article devoted largely to the sixteenth century. Aside from the usual sections of the Bulletin, too well known to need description here, Professor Thomson has listed (pp. 52-55) *Desiderata photostatica,* which should be noted carefully by scholars and librarians, who, even by chance, may have an item greatly needed by a colleague. Announcement is also made (pp. 56-57) of the editor's plan to publish an interim periodical of medieval and Renaissance studies to be called, probably, *Medievalia et humanistica.* GRAY C. BOYCE

THE IDEA OF THE RENAISSANCE FROM PETRARCH TO HALLAM [microfilm]. By *Herbert Weisinger.* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 555, $6.94.)

THE THEATINES IN THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC REFORM BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LUTHERANISM. By *Paul Aloysius Kunkel.* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1941, pp. 192, $1.00.)

MARLOWE'S TAMBURLAINE: A STUDY IN RENAISSANCE MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By *Roy W. Battenhouse.* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1941, pp. 277, $2.50.)

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A SHORTENED HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By *George Macaulay Trevelyan,* Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. xiv, 590, $3.50.)

A HANDLIST OF MASONIC DOCUMENTS. Compiled by *Douglas Knoop,* Professor of Economics in the University of Sheffield, P. M. Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London, and *G. P. Jones,* Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1942, pp. viii, 55, 5*s*.)

HUMANISTIC STUDIES IN HONOR OF JOHN CALVIN METCALF. [University of Virginia Studies, Volume I.] (Charlottesville, Publications Committee, University of Virginia, 1941, pp. x, 338, $3.00.) Of interest to historians in various fields are the following essays: "The Bronze Bull in Cleveland", by A. D. Fraser; "Thomas Jefferson visits England and buys a Harpsichord", by Archibald B. Shepperson; "Order in the *Codex Regius* of the *Poetic Edda",* by Frederic T. Wood; "The First Transmontane Advance", by Thomas Perkins Abernethy; "Spanish Abbots and the Visigothic Councils of Toledo", by Charles Julian Bishko; "Government and Private Industry in the Southern Confederacy", by Lester J. Cappon; "Federalism in Tuscany, 1859-1860", by John B. Sirich.

INDEX TO THE THIRD SERIES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOLUMES 41-60, 1907-1928. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941, pp. xxv, 454, $5.00.)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE. By *Clive Day,* Seymour H. Knox Professor of Political Economy Emeritus, Yale University. A revision and extension of *Economic Development in Modern Europe.* (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xxii, 746, $4.00.) "The present book goes back to medieval origins, continues the analysis to the outbreak of the second World War, and includes a study of economic history in three additional countries [Italy, Spain, and Ireland]".

CHIUS VINCTA, OR THE OCCUPATION OF CHIOS BY THE TURKS (1566) & THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLAND (1566-1912), DESCRIBED IN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMATIC REPORTS AND OFFICIAL DISPATCHES. Edited with an Introduction by *Philip P. Argenti.* With a Preface by Sir Stephen Gaselee. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. cclxxvii, 264, $6.00.) This, the author's seventh book on Chios, reveals his critical acumen, thorough training, and accurate scholarship. Mr. Argenti, a native Chiote, has used the sources available on the island and those in Genoa and other places of less importance. The text consists of a number of well-chosen documents, most only in the original, a few with translations. Those interested in Near Eastern history of the sixteenth century will find certain Venetian reports from Constantinople not contained in Albèri, *Relazione degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato,* viz., those of Daniele Barbarigo, Vettore Bragadin, and Giacomo Soranzo. The introduction contains a sparkling résumé of the history of Genoa as concerns the island. Most of the introduction, however, is devoted to the government of Chios, with particularly clear and interesting sections on taxation. The detailed account of the administration of Chios will not absorb many readers, but the account does show that the Ottoman government did allow considerable latitude in at least one of its dominions. Documentation is accurate and adequate, with but one unimportant exception. Very few typographical errors occur in the text or the introduction, and the index is satisfactory and carefully prepared. A bibliography might well have been included. The author has cited as factual a few

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moot or disproved items which are not of great consequence to the subject matter, viz., that Selim assumed the caliphate, that the trade of Venice with India was severed by Selim's conquest of the Mameluke Empire, and that Selim wished to make Arabic the official language of the empire. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Argenti refers to the Gritti as Genoese, whereas they were Venetian.

GEORGE W. F. STRIPLING

THE FRENCH DRAMA IN AMERICA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE AMERICAN DRAMA OF THAT PERIOD, 1701-1800. By *Lewis P. Waldo.* [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, pp. xvii, 269, $3.50.)

ADVENTURES OF AN AFRICAN SLAVER. By Captain *Theodore Canot.* Edited and with an Introduction by *Malcolm Cowley.* [Tower Books.] (Cleveland, World Publishing Company, 1942 [copyright 1928], pp. 397, 49 cents.)

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE DEBATES IN THE SPANISH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES RELATIVE TO THE ABANDONMENT OF SANTO DOMINGO. Edited by *David G. Yuengling.* (Washington, Murray and Heister, 1941, pp. xi, 181, $1.50.) The Spanish reoccupation of Santo Domingo is an episode of importance. The dreary experiment which Spain initiated at the opening of the American Civil War, and which ended in defeat and withdrawal, has been little studied, except for the reviewer's own analysis of it from the angle of the Monroe Doctrine. What Dr. Yuengling has provided, however, is merely a translation of some of the debates in the Cortes and a few other documents which shed light upon the whole enterprise. The proofreading of this material is by no means perfect; not enough care has been taken with the translation, which is often clumsy; the appended documents are arranged in a most curious order; and the selection of materials itself is not above criticism. In particular it is curious that the editor does not quote those passages in the debates which most concern the United States. Nonetheless, this little volume will have undoubted usefulness to the student of the subject. Published source materials on the Dominican adventure are all too scanty. It is useful to have reprinted and translated such documents as Ramon Mella's account of the mission of 1854, the account of the mission of 1859, the very frank confession of error contained in the dispatch of the governor general of Cuba in 1863, and the like. The picture provided by Dr. Yuengling can hardly be said to be a complete one, but it sheds undoubted light upon the evolution of Spanish policy and the motives of the Spanish withdrawal. DEXTER PERKINS

NORTHWEST WATER BOUNDARY: REPORT OF THE EXPERTS SUMMONED BY THE GERMAN EMPEROR AS ARBITRATOR UNDER ARTICLES 34-42 OF THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON OF MAY 8, 1871, PRELIMINARY TO HIS AWARD DATED OCTOBER 21, 1872. Edited, with a Translation, by *Hunter Miller.* [University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences.] (Seattle, University of Washington, 1942, pp. vii, 75, 50 cents.)

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By *J. E. Tyler,* Lecturer in History in the University of Sheffield. [Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 122.] (Exeter, the Association, Roborough Library, University College, 1942, pp. 19, 1*s.* 1*d.*)

THE CUBAN QUESTION AS REFLECTED IN THE EDITORIAL COLUMNS OF MIDDLE WESTERN NEWSPAPERS, 1895-1898 [microfilm]. By *George Washington Auxier.* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 337, $4.21.)

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BRANCH BANKING: ITS HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL POSITION IN AMERICA AND ABROAD. By *John Martin Chapman* and *Ray Bert Westerfield.* (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 442, $4.50.)

THE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By *Gladys Boone.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 283, $3.50.)

ESSAYS IN HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. By *George Plekhanov.* (New York, International Publishers, 1941, pp. 112, $1.00.)

V. I. LENIN: COLLECTED WORKS. Volume XIX, *1916-1917.* Translated from the Russian by *Moissaye J. Olgin.* (New York, International Publishers, 1942, pp. 463, $3.00.)

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY. Edited by *Harry Elmer Barnes,* Lecturer on the History of Civilization, New School for Social Research; *Howard Becker,* Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin; *Frances Bennett Becker,* Sometime Instructor of Sociology, Smith College. [The Century Social Science Series, edited by Edward Alsworth Ross, University of Wisconsin.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1940, pp. xx, 947, $5.00.)

THE NEWSPAPER AS A RECORDER OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY: A CASE STUDY OF THE REPORTING OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR IN THREE AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS [microfilm]. By *De Witt Carter Reddick.* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 493, $6.16.)

ALL MY BORN DAYS: EXPERIENCES OF A NAVAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER IN EUROPE. By *John A. Gade.* (New York, Scribner's, 1942, pp. xii, 408, $3.50.)

CONTEMPORARY EUROPE: A STUDY OF NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL TRENDS. A Symposium. (New York, Van Nostrand, 1941, pp. xi, 670, $5.00.) Thirty competent writers have contributed to this comprehensive, readable, and informative symposium on major European political, economic, and cultural developments from 1918 until the time of writing. There are chapters on the papacy, the rise of new ideologies and state forms, the place of Europe in world affairs, and grand military strategy on the stage set by European geography. There are also many good maps and much up-to-date bibliographical information. The volume, edited by Dr. Joseph S. Roucek, should prove useful to the lay reader as well as to the college and university student.

JEWISH EMANCIPATION: A SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS. By *Raphael Mahler.* [Pamphlet Series, Jews and the Post-War World, Number 1.] (New York, Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee, 1941, pp. 72, 20 cents.)

JEWISH EMANCIPATION UNDER ATTACK: ITS LEGAL RECESSION UNTIL THE PRESENT WAR. By *Bernard Dov Weinryb.* [Jews and the Post-War World, Number 2.] (*Ibid.,* 1942, pp. 95, 25 cents.)

HENRIETTA SZOLD: LIFE AND LETTERS. By *Marvin Lowenthal.* (New York, Viking Press, 1942, pp. 359, $3.00.)

AMERICAN SOCIETY AND THE CHANGING WORLD. By *C. H. Pegg* and *L. M. Brooks, J. L. Godfrey, P. W. Wager, J. C. Sitterson, D. H. Buchanan, G. E. Mowry, C. P. Spruill, jr., Cecil Johnson,* all of the University of North Carolina, and

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A. B. Dugan, of the University of the South. (New York, Crofts, 1942, pp. xiii, 601, $3.50.) This volume is the outgrowth of an introductory course given by the combined social science departments of the University of North Carolina. Of the thirty chapters eleven deal with the changing world since Versailles. The rest deal with social and economic problems in the United States against the background of an interdependent world in transition and conflict. Useful as a text in contemporary problems, it would serve also with discussion groups.

WAR AND NATIONAL POLICY: A SYLLABUS. Edited by *Grayson Kirk,* Columbia University, and *Richard Poate Stebbins,* Institute for Advanced Study. With a Foreword by Lindsay Rogers, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Edward Mead Earle. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. x, 131, $1.00.) This is a first-rate syllabus for a course which many colleges will introduce. It represents the work of an able group on the subject. The syllabus divides the material into twenty-two chapters and suggests subtopics and bibliography for each chapter. The relation between war and the humanities is unfortunately ignored.

THE WORLD'S DESTINY AND THE UNITED STATES: A CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. (Chicago, World Citizens Association, 1941, pp. xx, 309, $1.00.)

DESIGN FOR POWER: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD. Maps by *George D. Brodsky.* Narrative by *Frederick L. Schuman.* (New York, Knopf, 1942, pp. 324, $3.50.) This book, for all its excursions into psychology and analysis of power politics, is a narrative account of the onset of the Fascist Beast. As usual, Professor Schuman has written well and has expressed or implied his moral judgments clearly: black is very black, and there has been little or no white anywhere. Even so, he sees possible victory over the Beast and the achievement of a united planet if "embattled freemen will but undertake this task" (p. 309). It can do no harm to read the book, and it may do many an isolationist great good; but the serious reader will not be sufficiently enlightened as to the reasons for this tragic decade to understand how, given it, the new order could be and should be built. PAULINE R. ANDERSON

GERMAN OCCUPATION OF POLAND: EXTRACT OF NOTE ADDRESSED TO THE ALLIED AND NEUTRAL POWERS. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland. (New York, Greystone Press and "Rój", 1942, pp. 250, $2.00.)

THE ARMIES MARCH: A PERSONAL REPORT. By *John Cudahy,* Former Ambassador Extraordinary to Poland, Minister to Ireland and Luxembourg, Ambassador to Belgium. (New York, Scribner's, 1941, pp. xi, 304, $2.75.) This book is dull, verbose, and, apart from some material on the king, not enlightening.

MODERN BATTLE. By Major *Paul W. Thompson.* (New York, Norton, 1942 [copyright 1941], pp. 230, $2.75.) What goes on during modern battle described in simple and almost nontechnical language. Gives accounts of military actions in the present war—in the Polish, French, and Balkan campaigns.

A DIARY OF WORLD AFFAIRS (JUNE 23RD, 1940-APRIL 5TH, 1941). By *Marcel Hoden.* Translated from the French by *Mabel Hauck.* (New York, Penguin Books, 1942, pp. 128, 25 cents.)

FROM THE LAND OF SILENT PEOPLE. By *Robert St. John.* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 361, $3.00.) A picture of war in Yugoslavia, Greece, and Crete by an American reporter.

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MEDITERRANEAN FRONT. By *Alan Moorehead.* (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1942, pp. 316, $2.75.) A firsthand account, by an English war correspondent, of the British campaigns in this war, by land and sea, in the Mediterranean region.

SEA POWER IN CONFLICT. By *Paul Schubert.* (New York, Coward-McCann, 1942, pp. 258, $2.50.) "An account of sea warfare from 1939 to 1941, including the attack on Pearl Harbor, by the well-known radio commentator on naval affairs".

THE AXIS GRAND STRATEGY: BLUEPRINTS FOR THE TOTAL WAR. Edited by *Ladislas Farago.* Translated from the German. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. 623, $3.75.)

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF WORLD WAR II: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by *Dorothy Campbell Tompkins.* (Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941, pp. 121, $1.50.)

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD: PARLIAMENTS, PARTIES, AND PRESS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1942. Edited by *Walter Hampton Mallory.* [Council on Foreign Relations.] (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. 202, $2.50.)

RUSSIA AND JAPAN. By *Maurice Gerschon Hindus.* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 262, $2.00.) Analysis of the Russo-Japanese situation.

THE DESTINY OF WESTERN MAN. By *Walter Terence Stace.* (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942, pp. 333, $3.00.) A historical survey and analytical discussion of democracy and totalitarianism which seeks to justify the faith the democratic peoples hold.

DEPENDENT AREAS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By *Arthur N. Holcombe,* Professor of Government, Harvard University. [America Looks Ahead, No. 4.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 108, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.) Professor Holcombe puts the case for international control of dependent areas, and he states that such a system accords both with the principles adopted by the United States for the government of its dependencies and with the good neighbor policy. He regards the re-establishment of a general system of free trade as unlikely and even undesirable, since it would depend on the success of a new balance of power diplomacy based on the strength of the United States as well as of Britain. He rejects the principle of political regionalism, even as applied by the United States to the Western Hemisphere, and is convinced that the only alternative is a more effective system of collective security than that of the League of Nations and a considerable development of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission. Historians may question the premises, and those concerned with national military security will certainly not accept the conclusions, but every reader will agree that the author argues ably in the short space at his disposal. F. H. HERRICK

SOCIAL RESEARCH: A STUDY IN METHODS OF GATHERING DATA. By *George Andrew Lundberg.* Second edition. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. 446, $3.25.)

THE NEWSPAPER AND SOCIETY: A BOOK OF READINGS. Edited by *George Lloyd Bird* and *Frederic E. Merwin.* [Prentice-Hall Journalism Series.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1942, pp. 645, $5.35, textbook edition $4.00.)

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MANUAL, FOR STUDENTS OF THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES: A SHORT-TITLE LIST. Compiled by *John Webster Spargo.* Second edition. (Chicago, Packard, 1941, pp. 270, $1.50.)

TOBACCO: ITS HISTORY, ILLUSTRATED BY THE BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, AND ENGRAVINGS IN THE LIBRARY OF GEORGE ARENTS, JR. Volume III. Edited by *Jerome E. Brooks.* (New York, Rosenbach, 1941, pp. 554, $265.00 for set of four volumes.)

ARTICLES

RAYMOND D. CAHALL. On the History of Intellectual History. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.,* July.

CARL F. TAEUSCH. The Concept of "Usury": The History of an Idea. *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* June.

N. S. B. GRAS. Capitalism—Concepts and History. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.,* Apr.

RICHARD GLASSER. Die humanistische Wertschätzung der Zeit. *Welt als Gesch.,* VII, nos. 3-4.

JUSTUS HASHAGEN. Das Renaissanceproblem. *Ibid.*

JOHN W. BLAKE. New Light on Diogo Homem, Portuguese Cartographer. *Mariner's Mirror,* Apr.

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CHARLES E. HATCH, JR. Tobacco: Its History, Illustrated by the Books, Manuscripts, and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, jr., by Jerome E. Brooks. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.,* Apr.

DIETER CUNZ. Panama Canal: The Dream of Four Centuries. *South Atlantic Quar.,* Apr.

ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER. William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* Sept.

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Have the Americas a Common History? WILLIAM C. BINKLEY, A United States View; GEORGE W. BROWN, A Canadian View; EDMUNDO O'GORMAN, A Mexican View; GERMAN ARCINIEGAS, A South American View. *Can. Hist. Rev.,* June.

TOM CARLYLE SMITH. Anglo-French Policy and the Question of American Mediation, 1916. *Historian, Phi Alpha Theta,* Spring.

MOSES MOSKOWITZ. Three Years of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. *Pol. Sci. Quar.,* Sept.

H. A. DEWEERD. The Emergence of Coalition War. *Yale Rev.,* Summer.

NICHOLAS JOHN SPYKMAN. Frontiers, Security, and International Organization. *Geograph. Rev.,* July.

CIRO ALEGRIA and ALFREDO SACO. Japanese Spearhead in the Americas. *Free World,* Feb., Mar.

EDWARD D. KLEINLERER. Japanese Penetration in the Middle East. *Ibid.,* May.

KURT R. MATTUSCH. Geopolitics—"Science" of Power Politics. *Amerasia,* July.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY. Vulture Medicine in the Modern World. *Ciba Symposia,* June.

Ancient History[1]

T. R. S. Broughton

SOCIAL THOUGHT AMONG THE EARLY GREEKS. By *Joseph B. Gittler,* Department of Sociology, the University of Georgia. Preface by William F. Ogburn. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1941, pp. xii, 272, $3.00.) Professor Gittler, a

[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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sociologist and a pupil of Ogburn, has put together, primarily for students in the social sciences without classical training, a compendium of excerpts from "virtually all the Greek writings which had a social content", classified under various categories of social thought suggested by the writings themselves and grouped in three main sections, the age of Homer and Hesiod, the lyric age, and the Attic age. Plato and Aristotle are omitted as familiar, though several sophists from the dialogues are allowed to figure. The author makes no pretension to Greek scholarship: the quotations are from standard English translations, mostly those of the Loeb Classics. There are adequate brief historical introductions to the three ages and a preliminary chapter discussing rather formally sociological methods and distinctions. The volume is not designed for historically-minded readers but to furnish data for the social scientist. All problems of interpretation are eschewed; the emphasis throughout is on the knack of the Greeks to express ideas in our own latest fashion. The excerpts, though well chosen, seem often more universal in import than the present-day sociological concepts found in them and suggest a wisdom of their own that does not merely anticipate ours. Thus the summary claims that the Greeks displayed "social thought" but no "value-free sociology"—despite the quotations from Hippocrates and Thucydides. Their attitude was ethical and not scientific—"ethical pronunciations remove any field from the realm of the scientific". This and other judgments—"the concept of the group was almost completely neglected"—suggest that the author has hardly traced the anatomy of Greek thought or learned all it has to teach, even to sociologists. But though he scarcely contributes to their interpretation, his collection of source materials for Greek social thought should prove very useful to the college teacher. J. H. RANDALL, JR.

ITALIC TOMB-GROUPS IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. By *Edith Hall Dohan.* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, pp. 180, $7.50.)

A HISTORY OF NARBO. By *Coleman Hamilton Benedict.* (Princeton, University Library, privately printed, 1941, pp. vi, 93, $1.00.) In this dissertation Dr. Benedict seeks to give an account of the Roman colony at Narbo from its foundation in 118 B.C. to the time of Diocletian. For this he has had to depend mainly upon the evidence of inscriptions, since the literary references are extremely meager and, owing to the later destruction of the city by the Visigoths, the archaeological remains of the period in question are scarce and fragmentary. And even the inscriptional record is none too impressive; many Egyptian villages have preserved much richer and more illuminating documents than this once prosperous city, capital of Gallia Narbonensis, seat of the provincial imperial cult, and an important mercantile center. But even though the results of the study are unsatisfactory owing to their incompleteness and prosaic because of the content of most of the inscriptions, the task was worth doing and has been carried out in a scholarly and painstaking fashion. In addition to the sketch of the community in its external relations, we have here a picture of its internal organization and its economic life, all of which contribute to throw light upon Roman imperial policy and the development of Roman civilization in this, one of the most thoroughly Romanized sections of the empire. A. E. R. BOAK

THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS. By *Vincent M. Scramuzza,* Associate Professor of History, Smith College. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 328, $3.75.)

PREACHING IN THE EARLY CHURCH: THE MOORE LECTURES. By *Hugh Thomson Kerr.* (New York, Revell, 1942, pp. 238, $2.50.)

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General Articles

Ida A. Pratt. Ancient Egypt: 1925-1941 [concl.]. *Bull. New York Public Library,* July.
William F. Edgerton. Chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.,* July.
Max Vogelstein. Bakshish for Bagoas? *Jewish Quar. Rev.,* July.
Edgar J. Goodspeed. The Possible Aramaic Gospel. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.,* July.
Malcolm F. McGregor. Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Games. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXXII.
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Kurt von Fritz. The Mission of L. Caesar and L. Roscius in January, 49 B. C. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* LXXII.
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D. C. Baramki. Excavations at Khirbet el Mefjer [IV]. *Ibid.*
Wayne M. Felts. A Petrographic Examination of Potsherds from Ancient Troy. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.,* Apr.
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Oscar Broneer. The Thesmophorion in Athens. *Hesperia,* June.
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A. Poebel. The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.,* July.
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Medieval History

Gray C. Boyce

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD. By *Sufi Mutiur Rahman Bengalee.* (Chicago, Moslem Sunrise Press, 1941, pp. ix, 286, $2.00.) The author of this newest Life of Muḥammad, the Arabian Prophet, is an Indian Muslim from Bengal, who represents in this country the Qadiani branch of the Aḥmadiyya Movement, to whose present head, Bashīr ud-Dīn Aḥmad, the second Khalifa, he dedicates his book. The purpose of his book, he tells us, is to give the Western world a sketch "of the life, character and teachings of Muhammad, so that the general Western public may gain a correct idea about this great benefactor of mankind", and to remove "the false impressions which have gained currency about Islam and its Founder in the Occidental world". Unfortunately it is not likely to realize either of these two aims. Books on the life of Muḥammad from the pens of Western scholars, he says, are "a combination of fact, fancy, fiction and mythology". This description, however, could be applied with much greater justice to his own work, which is simply a rewriting in simple form of the usual pietistic-apologetic presentation of the life of Muḥammad, already available in at least a dozen easily accessible books in English. It begins with a highly inaccurate account of Arabia before Islam, outlines the orthodox view of the life of the Prophet in two chapters on Muḥammad in Meccah and Muḥammad in Madīnah, followed by an apologetic entitled "A Glimpse into Muhammad's Character", which seeks to explain away his numerous marriages and his warlike expeditions and illustrate his piety, and two chapters of selections from the Qur'ān and the Traditions on the Teachings of Muḥammad and the Sayings and Doings of Muḥammad. A final chapter assembles some passages from the Old and New Testaments, which are interpreted as prophecies of the coming of Muḥammad. The historical value of the work is nil. Arthur Jeffery

A MIDDLEWICH CHARTULARY, COMPILED BY WILLIAM VERNON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *Joan Varley.* Part I. (Manchester, printed for the Chetham Society and the Liverpool School of Local History and Records, 1941, pp. x, 217.) William Vernon, the compiler of this chartulary, was born in the reign of Elizabeth and, in all probability, died before May, 1664. He may have been a pensioner at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1606, although there is some doubt as to whether or not he is the Vernon known to have been there then. Like his friend Dugdale, he became an antiquary of no little fame and displayed considerable talent as a collector gathering information of every sort concerning his own locality. He applied little critical acumen to what he did and never displayed any synthetic powers in the work he has left behind. Although he never in the true sense produced a book him-

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self, the materials he gathered together are of great importance to the historian of Cheshire. Miss Varley has not only reproduced but also analyzed his chartulary with care, and she has extracted from its rather dry pages the many significant facts that furnish the basis of her critical introduction. Here the scholar will find much special information and also her reflections concerning a town famous for its saltmaking in the Middle Ages. Both Miss Varley's commentary and the documents themselves should prove valuable for social, and especially economic, historians concerned with medieval English problems. Constitutional historians should note her comments on the borough, burgesses, the courts, and, in particular, Appendix II, "The Origin of the Cheshire Judgers". The section on saltmaking in medieval Middlewich is an illuminating and informing examination of the peculiar and special problems of a particular center where an essential staple determined the fate of a community.

THE PARLIAMENTARY ABBOTS TO 1470: A STUDY IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By Sister *Aloyse Marie Reich,* S. N. D. [University of California Publications in History, Volume 17, No. 4.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1941, pp. vi, 265-401, $1.50.) This study makes its contribution in disproving the assumption of parliamentary historians that abbots were summoned because they held by barony. By an analysis of the pertinent sources the author demonstrates that, until Edward III's reign, almost all the heads of the greater monastic houses, exempt or nonexempt, holding by barony or in frankalmoin, were summoned at one time or another. "The duties of secular office and secular service were required, not from successive abbots in abbeys of a certain tenure, but from individuals fitted by ability to execute them". Even the "parliamentary abbots", set at twenty-seven from Richard II, included only thirteen of the twenty-four holding by barony. Emphasis on the oath of fealty, in lieu of tenure, as the legal basis for the abbots' "suit of court", seems overdone, in view of the medieval king's authority to invite whom he chose to his assemblies. An analogy might have been made of the capricious summons of lay barons, too, in the period before Edward III. The diminution of numbers in this reign is attributed to the preference of the abbots, like the clerical proctors, for taxation in convocation and to the lower assessment of those not present in parliament. Archbishop Stratford is credited with the principle of "tenure other than by barony", used by the abbots themselves in securing exemptions. Valuable, apart from the main theme, is the complete picture constructed of the religious, their relation to their spiritual superiors and to the king. An infinity of details culled from close and patent rolls reveals royal rights in connection with abbatial elections, vacancies, corodies, the use of abbots as officials and diplomats and in a host of miscellaneous services. A few errors occur in incidental detail (such as the statement, p. 328, that the duel was used in the possessory assizes). There is a good bibliography, except for the inclusion of some old editions (McKechnie, and Twiss's *Bracton,* instead of Woodbine's).

FAITH THOMPSON

AITḊIOGḂUIM DÁNA: A MISCELLANY OF IRISH BARDIC POETRY, HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS, INCLUDING THE HISTORICAL POEMS OF THE DUANAIRE IN THE YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN. Edited with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by *Lambert McKenna,* S. J. Volume II, Translation, Notes, Vocabulary, etc. [Irish Texts Society, Vol. XL, 1938.] (Dublin, published for the Irish Texts Society by the Educational Company of Ireland, 1940, pp. 364.)

LEBOR GABÁLA ÉRENN: THE BOOK OF THE TAKING OF IRELAND. Part IV. Edited and translated, with Notes, etc., by *R. A. Stewart Macalister.* [Irish Texts Society, Vol. XLI, 1939.] (*Ibid.,* 1941, pp. 342.)

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MEDELTIDSKRÖNIKORNAS VÄRLD: EN POLITISK MILJÖSTUDIE. By *Erik Lönnroth*. [Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift.] (Göteborg, Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1941, pp. 27, 2 kr.)

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T. Dayrell Reed. "The Strategy of Anglo-Saxon Invasion". *Antiquity*, June.

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Marjorie M. Morgan. The Excommunication of Grosseteste in 1243. *Ibid.*

Id. The Suppression of Alien Priories. *History*, Dec.

Harold G. Reuschlein. Who wrote *The Mirror of Justices?* A Note upon the Suggestions of Maitland, Pollock, and Leadam. *Law Quar. Rev.*, Apr.

A. F. Pollard. Receivers of Petitions and Clerks of Parliament. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

Edward H. Warren. Serjeants-at-Law: The Order of the Coif. *Virginia Law Rev.*, May.

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E. F. Jacob. The Collapse of France in 1419-20. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, May-June.

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LOREN C. MACKINNEY. Vulture Medicine in the Medieval World. *Ciba Symposia*, June.
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C. A. RALEGH RADFORD. The Sculptured Stones at Hornhausen. *Antiquity*, June.
GERARD BURIAN LADNER. The "Portraits" of Emperors in Southern Italian *Exultet* Rolls and the Liturgical Commemoration of the Emperor. *Speculum*, Apr.
MEYER SCHAPIRO. A Note on an Inscription of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella. *Ibid.*
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JAMES G. MANN. Two Fourteenth-Century Gauntlets from Ripon Cathedral. *Ibid.*
DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN. A Medieval Picture of the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris. *Bull. Hist. Med.*, June.

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE DIGNITY OF KINGSHIP ASSERTED. By *G. S.* Reproduced in Facsimile from the Edition of 1660. With an Introduction by *William R. Parker.* (New York, published for the Facsimile Text Society by the Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. xx, 221, $2.20.) In March, 1660, John Milton published his *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.* The contents of the pamphlet and the circumstances of its publication must have convinced anyone still in doubt that John Milton was a political imbecile capable of occasional flights of eloquence. A few weeks later one G. S. answered Milton's tract with *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted.* G. S.'s tract demonstrates two facts already fairly well known: that it was possible to be an imbecile without being eloquent, and that imbecility was not a monopoly of Commonwealthsmen. Each hundred years perhaps a half-dozen scholars will be forced by their researches to read *The Dignity of Kingship.* Such scholars would find originals of the tract in several large American libraries. The Facsimile Text Society has, nevertheless, seen fit to reproduce the whole two hundred drab pages. In an introduction William Parker proves that *The Dignity of Kingship* was probably the work of one George Starkey, whose contemporary importance seems to match his literary and polemic talents. Mr. Parker suggests that Starkey is a "new and interesting personality . . . among the contemporary opponents of Milton". Mr. Parker might have been able to sustain this quaint illusion had he not reprinted *The Dignity of Kingship.* A duller piece of inconsequentiality, silliness, and banality can hardly be found in the realm of polemic literature. These are sad days. In the midst of sacrifice, curtailment, and retrenchment, we seize avidly on little consolations. The paper shortage, when it becomes acute, will be unpleasant. In that time we expect to derive some small satisfaction from the fact that the stringency will prevent the Facsimile Text Society from discovering and printing a suitable companion piece to *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted.* J. H. HEXTER

THE POLITICS OF MERCANTILISM. By *Philip W. Buck,* Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, California. (New York, Holt, 1942, pp. viii, 240, $2.00.) This study of the political doctrines of the English mercantilists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries possesses contemporary significance, as Professor Buck points out in his preface, because modern totalitarianism has revived many of the ideas and practices of the mercantile system. Both accent the dominance of the national state,

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but in other respects the differences are marked. Professor Buck addresses himself primarily to an examination of the mercantilist views of the powers of the state, which have been neglected by the economic historians. The writings of the English mercantilists were dispersed over a long period of time—over three hundred years—and were directed at particular problems; consequently they did not constitute an integrated system. But they did rest upon the assumption of a powerful national state and approached a planned national economy. The economic system they advocated—control of foreign trade, regulation of the domestic economy, and management of the colonial empire—was a *political* economy. The state was, therefore, justified in exercising its powers in any department of the national economy in order to secure the power and welfare of the nation. Professor Buck's constructive contribution is to be found in his chapter on "The Structure of the Mercantilist State", in which he describes the powers of the state and the machinery through which they were exercised. Mercantilism, he points out, was not merely a system of power—it was also a system of welfare. The lesson to be learned from such a study by the democratic state of today is that methods must be devised for assuming some of the benefits of collective action while safeguarding the genuine social values of freedom of the individual. The study concludes with thirty pages of valuable critical bibliographical notes.

E. L. BOGART

CAROLINE OF ENGLAND: AN AUGUSTAN PORTRAIT. By *Peter Courtney Quennell.* (Garden City, New York, Blue Ribbon Books, 1940, pp. 259, $1.00.)

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND. By *John Joseph O'Connor.* [Christendom Series.] (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 111, $1.00.) A brief study of the growth of Catholic life in England during the period 1770-1892.

THE DICKENS WORLD. By *Arthur Humphry House.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 231, $3.00.) "A study of Charles Dickens's books as historical documents".

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCES: THE SOLUTION FOR PAN-ANGLICAN ORGANIZATION. By *William Redmond Curtis,* Assistant Professor of General History, New York University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 355, $4.00.) The extension of the Church of England to the far-flung areas of British settlement and elsewhere presented that communion with serious problems of organization, a solution for which was found in the principle of local autonomy. This sensible arrangement raised another problem, however, since even the most latitudinarian of communions seeks to maintain some degree of uniformity in doctrine and practice and of unity in action. To this end, on the initiative of the Canadian Provincial Synod, the first Lambeth Conference was held in 1867, and similar conferences have since become a recognized institution. Professor Curtis frequently points out the striking similarity between the evolution of Anglican polity and that of the constitution of the British Empire and Commonwealth. The problem of combining local autonomy with a desirable measure of unity was much simpler in the ecclesiastical than in the political field and was solved more successfully. It is to be regretted that the author did not include a detailed comparison between the Colonial and Imperial Conferences, on the one hand, and the Lambeth Conferences, on the other. The book is based entirely on printed material and deals in detail with the first two conferences only. A writer on this interesting subject is greatly hampered by the fact that the recorded proceedings of the Lambeth Conferences are not accessible, with the partial exception of those of the

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first conference, which were published in an abridged form. The author is not critical, nor does he often avail himself of the privilege of generalizing. The style is clumsy, and the proofreading was not successful. GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER

MONTAGU NORMAN. By *John Hargrave* [*White Fox,* pseud.]. (New York, Greystone Press, 1942, pp. 247, $2.75.)

WHERE STANDS A WINGÈD SENTRY. By *Margaret Kennedy.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. xv, 251, $2.00.) This is a charming little book which shows much of the best of England under bombs. Yet there is something incongruous in writing for preservation during such a crisis a "charming" account of one's own part in it. The book is sincere, humorous, spirited, observant, but it is really trivial.
PAULINE R. ANDERSON

PEACE AIMS: BRITISH OFFICIAL STATEMENTS: A CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD, FROM SEPTEMBER 2, 1939, TO SEPTEMBER 24, 1941. (New York, British Library of Information, n. d., pp. 30, gratis.)

BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS: A GUIDE TO THEIR USE. By *Grace A. Campbell.* Reprinted from *College and Research Libraries.* (Stillwater, the author, care of Oklahoma A. and M. College Library, 1941, pp. 8, 10 cents.)

THE GRAND MANAN HISTORIAN. No. VI, THE JESUITS AT GRAND MANAN IN 1613, by *Buchanan Charles;* CAPTAIN OWEN'S VISIT IN 1770, from *Captain Owen's* Journal. (Grand Manan Island, Grand Manan Historical Society, 1941, pp. 30, 35 cents.)

DOMINION OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES FOR THE YEAR 1941. By *Gustave Lanctot,* Keeper of Public Records. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, 1942, pp. xxii, 313, 50 cents.) In addition to the usual report there is published in this volume an appendix of 313 pages, which contains a calendar of a series of state papers composed of the official correspondence of the governors, lieutenant governors, administrators, and other officials of Quebec and Lower and Upper Canada for the years 1760-1841. This is a continuation of the calendar the last issue of which appeared in the report for 1902.

LE CANADA ET LA GUERRE. By *William-Lyon Mackenzie King.* (New York, Brentano's, 1942, pp. 341, $1.50.)

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MILDRED LAVARELL. England's Foreign Trade in the Eighteenth Century. *Vassar Jour. Undergraduate Stud.*, May.

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THOMAS KATRITSES. British By-Elections in War-Time. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

EARLY FRENCH WEST INDIAN RECORDS IN THE ARCHIVES NATIONALES. By *Lowell Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Washington, Paul Pearlman, received 1942, pp. 151-90, 50 cents.)

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FROM PANAMA TO VERDUN: MY FIGHT FOR FRANCE. By *Philippe Bunau-Varilla.* (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1940, pp. 277, $2.50.)

CHARLES DE GAULLE. By *Philippe Barrès.* (New York, Brentano's, 1941, pp. 316, $1.50.) Published in New York and in spots appearing to have been written for American consumption, this narrative account of the prewar and war activities of the military leader of the Free French has in it so much that is obviously special pleading that it should be handled with caution. It does presume to represent certain of the radio addresses of the general, reproduces certain of his announcements, and gives in quotation marks what purport to be many of the most critical conversations in the general's career. Without verification these can be accepted only with caution, but it is possible that they may prove to be the only evidence available, even if of questionable credibility. The book has also appeared in an English edition issued by another publisher in New York. ELBRIDGE COLBY

BELGIUM: THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED, 1939-1940. [Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.] (New York, Didier Publishers, 660 Madison Avenue, 1942, pp. 120, $2.50.)

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

ULRICH ZWINGLI. By Dr. *Dieter Cunz.* (Aarau, Verlag H. R. Sauerländer, received 1942, pp. 68.) Dr. Cunz has a Swiss fondness for the loving elaboration of the small. His *Europäische Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit* (1936) contains 136 pages. His *Ulrich Zwingli* occupies half as many. And yet he illuminates every crucial problem. He is emphatic in declaring Zwingli's dependence on Luther, in spite of Zwingli's own assertions contra: *"erst durch das lutherische sola fide wurde der eigentliche reformatorische Akzent gesetzt"* (p. 12). The Swiss reformer's broader interest in secular affairs

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is to be explained not only by the freer air of self-governing Zurich but by his pre-Reformation adhesion to the scholastic *via antiqua,* which stood for the greatest possible unity of the world, as against Luther's Ockhamism, which saw the dissonances of the cosmos (p. 64). But it is the handling of the divergence of these two German Protestant leaders in the interpretation of the Eucharist that best shows the author's virtuosity (pp. 57-66): "Wie für Luther die ganze Religion Gnadendarbietung Gottes in Wort und Zeichen ist, so ist ihm auch das Abendmahl die erneute Zusicherung der Sündenvergebung; später wird es bei ihm sogar die Darstellung der mystischen Verbindung, die Gott mit der menschlichen Seele eingeht. Ganz anders Zwingli . . . der sich stark fühlt durch den Geist Gottes, der in ihm wirkt, er ist nicht der verzweifelte Mensch, der aus dem Abgrund nach der Hilfe Gottes schreit. Er braucht nicht die Hilfe des Sakramentes, um seinen Glauben zu stützen, er braucht nur den rechten göttlichen Geist, denn der Geist allein schafft den Glauben. Nirgends in der Schrift fand er die Sündenvergebung und die Gemeinschaft mit Gott an äussere Zeichen gebunden" (pp. 59-60). "Er hat eine fanatische Abneigung gegen jede Verdinglichung des Glaubens, gegen jede Vermaterialisierung des Heils" (p. 62). The usefulness of this little compendium is enhanced by the select bibliography with which it closes. G. C. SELLERY

TIME WAS: DEATH OF A JUNKER. By *Heinrich Hauser.* Translated by *Barrows Mussey.* (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942, pp. 316, $3.00.)

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN GERMANY, 1914-1939: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS IN THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE AND THE STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Compiled by *Waldo Chamberlin.* Prepared under the Direction of the Division of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1942, pp. xv, 403, $5.00, photolithographed.)

METAPOLITICS FROM THE ROMANTICS TO HITLER. By *Peter Viereck.* (New York, Knopf, 1941, pp. xviii, 335, xxiv, $3.00.) The leitmotivs of this book are "the three related concepts romanticism, metapolitics, and Wagner", and they are so because the author believes political and economic explanations of National Socialism "explain nothing until they are combined with the additional understanding of psychological attitudes and ideas and their ancient roots" (p. xii). Hence a study of the "romantic" background of Hitlerism and of the "two souls" of Germany, civilization and *Kultur.* The author opposes to politics in the Western sense German metapolitics, which he defines as a blend of romanticism, racism, "vague economic socialism", and "the unconscious forces of *Volk* collectivity". It is an arresting study, too glibly written, which will prove revealing to many and confirmatory to others; but one must handle carefully these, and any, generalizations made to comprehend all Germans. PAULINE R. ANDERSON

PEOPLE UNDER HITLER. By *Wallace R. Deuel.* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1942, pp. viii, 392, $3.50.) This book by a journalist is full of material one recognizes from other books and sources, and it is sometimes pretentious in its generalizations about the Germans, as in the ludicrous opening chapter, "The Germans: Are they Human?" Yet it is a worthwhile addition to the books on Germany if only because it tries to show the life under National Socialism of the ordinary citizen. For fuller enlightenment there should be less about the National Socialists and National Socialism and more details of their effects on each of the social groups, particularly on the workers and the lower middle class; but an over-all survey presents an impressive indictment of National Socialism as a power over the millions.

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I PAID HITLER. *By Fritz Thyssen.* Translated from the Original by *César Saerchinger.* (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, in association with the Cooperation Publishing Company, 1941, pp. xxix, 281, $2.75.) The only parts of this book that are worth reading are those dealing with subsidies to the Nazi party from industrialists and with Nazi corruption. Since data on these topics are scarce, the book will have to be used; but Thyssen could have given much more information than he did. Thyssen appears so unbelievably stupid and tells so little beyond what anyone could infer from other sources that one would like to be sure he wrote it and how and why the manuscript was made public.

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MOSCOW WAR DIARY. By *Alexander Werth.* (New York, Knopf, 1942, pp. 297, $3.00.)

BISHOP ADAM NARUSZEWICZ AND HIS HISTORY OF THE POLISH NATION: A CRITICAL STUDY. By Sister *Neomisia Rutkowska.* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1941, pp. 149, $2.00.)

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By *Jan O. M. Broek,* Associate Professor of Geography, University of California. [I. P. R. Inquiry Series.] (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. xv, 172, $2.00.) Until recently hardly aware of the existence of the Netherlands Indies, Americans have now become very conscious of its economic and strategic importance. A book dealing with the economic development of the Indies ought, therefore, to possess more than ordinary interest for Americans. The prospective reader should not be misled by the title to expect much in the way of historical background, for the book deals primarily with the development during the decade preceding Pearl Harbor. Likewise the basic conflicts over economic policy between dependency and metropolitan country and between various interests in the latter receive only cursory treatment. However, within the limits which Professor Broek set for himself he has produced an excellent book. The volume is replete with useful statistical tables. In a brief concluding chapter the economic prospects of the Netherlands Indies are examined and some wise suggestions made. The Japanese occupation of the Netherlands Indies does not destroy the usefulness of this book; in some respects its usefulness becomes the greater because of it. A. VANDENBOSCH

RAMPARTS OF THE PACIFIC. By *Hallett Abend.* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 350, $3.50.)

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CHINA—AMERICA'S ALLY. By *Robert W. Barnett.* [Far Eastern Pamphlets, No. 5.] (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 48, 15 cents.)

THE GREAT PACIFIC WAR: A HISTORIC PROPHECY NOW BEING FULFILLED. By *Hector Charles Bywater.* Introduction by Hanson W. Baldwin. New edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1942, pp. 329, $2.50.)

AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHINA FROM SEGMENTATION TO INTEGRATION [microfilm]. By *Ch'eng Hsin Chao.* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 211, $2.64.)

PACIFIC BATTLE MAP. By *Ernest Dudley Chase.* (Boston, the author, 1000 Washington Street, 1942, 50 cents.) A map of the United States, the Pacific Ocean, and Eastern Asia.

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AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE PACIFIC AREA. Part II, TRANSPORTATION AND FOREIGN TRADE. By *Katrine R. C. Greene* and *Joseph Phillips.* (*Ibid.,* pp. xiv, 208, $2.00.)

AN ATLAS OF FAR EASTERN POLITICS. By *G. F. Hudson, Marthe Rajchman,* and *George Taylor.* (New York, John Day for the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 207, $2.50.) This valuable atlas, first published in 1938, has been brought up to date by a supplement for the years 1938 to 1942.

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VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC. By *Alexander Kiralfy.* (New York, John Day, 1942, pp. xiv, 283, $2.75.) A discussion of strategy to defeat Japan by a well-known writer on strategy.

INNER ASIAN FRONTIERS OF CHINA. By *Owen Lattimore,* Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, the Johns Hopkins University. [American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 21.] (New York, American Geographical Society, 1940, pp. xxiii, 585, $4.00.)

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AN ENGINEER IN THE ORIENT. By *Ralph Waldo Lawton.* (Los Angeles, Walton and Wright, 672 South Lafayette Park Place, 1942, pp. 201, $2.00.)

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A JAPANESE VIEW OF OUTER MONGOLIA. By *Yasuo Misshima* and *Tomio Goto.* Translated and summarized from the Japanese by *Andrew J. Grajdanzev.* (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 66, 50 cents.) This is a mimeographed condensed translation of the *Outer Mongolian People's Republic (Gaimō Jimmin Kyowa-Koku),* published in Tokyo in 1939.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC. By *Kate L. Mitchell.* (*Ibid.,* pp. xvii, 322, $2.50.) This volume constitutes Part III of *An Economic Survey of the Pacific Area,* under the general editorship of Frederick V. Field.

ASPECTS OF JAPANESE AGRICULTURE: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY. By *Shiroshi Nasu.* (*Ibid.,* 1941 [1942], pp. ix, 168, $1.50.) A revised and enlarged edition of the author's earlier work, *Land Utilization in Japan* (1929), brought more up to date. Most statistics extend to 1935 but some to as late as 1939.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE PACIFIC AREA. Part I, POPULATION AND LAND UTILIZATION. By *Karl J. Pelzer.* (*Ibid.,* pp. xv, 215, $2.00.)

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INDUSTRY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Jack Shepherd.* (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941 [1942], pp. 133, 75 cents.) The original version was being printed in Shanghai when the war began. This printing is by photo-offset from page proofs available in the United States.

AMERICA IN THE NEW PACIFIC. By *George E. Taylor.* (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 160, $1.75.) Deals with Pacific problems as created by the outbreak of the Pacific war.

GUAM AND ITS PEOPLE: A STUDY OF CULTURE CHANGE AND COLONIAL EDUCATION. By *Laura Maud Thompson.* (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 320, $2.50.)

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES: ITS GOVERNMENT, PROBLEMS, AND POLITICS. By *Amry Vandenbosch.* Third edition. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 458, $4.00.) A few minor errors have been corrected and a new chapter added, bringing the book completely up to date.

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ican Council of Learned Societies, 1940 [1941], pp. 50-131, 1-20, mimeographed.) "These are the last sections published under the auspices of the Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. The *Bulletin* now appears as part of the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, C. H. Peake, Low Library, Columbia University, Editor."

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Sir JOHN PRATT. The Outlook for Japan. *Fortnightly,* Feb.
H. J. TIMPERLEY. Yoshida Shōin—Martyred Prophet of Japanese Expansionism. *Far Eastern Quar.,* Aug.
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C. L. HSIA. China's Draft Constitution. *Ibid.,* June.

United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

GERMAN WORKS RELATING TO AMERICA, 1493-1800: A LIST COMPILED FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. By *Paul Ben Baginsky.* (New York, New York Public Library, 1942, pp. 232, $4.50.)

THE AMAZING ROOSEVELT FAMILY, 1613-1942. By *Karl Schriftgiesser.* (New York, W. Funk, 1942, pp. 379, $3.75.)

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY: A CHRONOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF ALL BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE GENESIS OF PRINTING IN 1639 DOWN TO AND INCLUDING THE YEAR 1820. By *Charles Evans.* Twelve volumes. Reprint edition. (New York, Peter Smith, 1942, $200.00.)

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled by *Allan Nevins,* Formerly Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford; Professor of History in Columbia University. [Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 121.] (Exeter, the Association, Roborough Library, University College, 1942, pp. 47, 1*s.* 1*d.*)

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *C. F. Strong.* (London, University of London Press, 1942, pp. viii, 305, 7*s.* 6*d.*) A brief and sympathetic account written for Englishmen.

LIVING LETTERS FROM AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Edward Carrington Boykin.* (Garden City, New York, Halcyon House, Blue Ribbon Books, 1942, pp. 403, $1.98.)

DEMOCRACY, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY: READINGS IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL TRADITION. Edited, with Introductions, by *Francis W. Coker,* Alfred

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Cowles Professor of Government, Yale University. (New York, Macmillan, 1942, pp. xv, 881, $4.25.) "The purpose of this collection is to indicate the main lines of our political tradition by means of representative excerpts from a variety of sources—essays and addresses, public documents, revolutionary pronouncements, formal treatises; and the attempt has been made to indicate typical attitudes on both sides of the fundamental questions at issue."

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND HIS UNKNOWN BROTHER RANDOLPH. Twenty-Eight Letters . . . with an Introduction by *Bernard Mayo.* (Charlottesville, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1942, pp. 41, $5.00.)

THOMAS PAINE. By *James MacLuckie Connell.* Introduction by R. H. Mottram. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1942, pp. 40, $1.00.)

"THESE ARE THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS": SELECTIONS FROM THE AMERICAN CRISIS. By *Thomas Paine.* [Bulletin No. XXXVI of the William L. Clements Library.] (Ann Arbor, William L. Clements Library, 1942, pp. 8, gratis.)

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Carl Becker,* Professor Emeritus of History in Cornell University. Reprinted with an Introduction by the Author. (New York, Knopf, 1942, pp. xvii, 286, $3.00.) This volume appeared originally in 1922 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXVIII, 761).

THE MORALE OF CONTINENTAL AND MILITIA TROOPS IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION [microfilm]. By *Benjamin Allen Bowman.* (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 355, $4.44.)

RIFLES AND RIFLEMEN AT THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN. [National Park Service, Popular Study Series, History, No. 12.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 22, 10 cents, No. I 29.45:12.)

EARLY AMERICAN SOIL CONSERVATIONISTS. [Agriculture Department, Miscellaneous Publication 449.] (*Ibid.,* pp. 63, 15 cents, No. A 1.38:449.)

EVERYDAY THINGS IN AMERICAN LIFE, 1776-1876. By *William Chauncy Langdon.* (New York, Scribner's, 1941, pp. xv, 398, $3.00.) Mr. Langdon writes interestingly of some of the everyday, commonplace phases of economic and social life in America. For the most part he writes of services which touched the people but in which they did not participate directly and of types of things rather than the things themselves. For example, seven of the fifteen chapters treat of transportation, its principal forms and its importance, but not primarily of the wagon, the boat, or the railroad train. In the chapter on the press he hastily traces the history of the newspaper with much attention to certain outstanding papers. It is when he comes to retail trading, home life, clothing, and the implements of agriculture that he reaches the "things" of everyday life. The author seems to think that his title precludes references to developments in other lands and, perhaps because of this, appears to make unwarranted statements regarding the origins of things. To be sure, he is chiefly interested in the uses of things, but insofar as he discusses origins, he gives little credit to our European inheritance. One may take exceptions to his description of reaping devices as being inadequate for reference and unsatisfactory from the standpoint of atmosphere. The data available warrant a more specific statement about the origin and first American use of the grain cradle. Some description of grain cradle construction and of the operations and circumstances of the harvest might well have been given. Too often

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Mr. Langdon uses indefinite expressions when he could have made more specific statements which would have been just as effective in general description and would have enhanced the usefulness of the material for specific reference. The volume is well illustrated, and the format is pleasing. RUSSELL H. ANDERSON

TWO FIGHTERS AND TWO FINES: SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF MATTHEW LYON AND ANDREW JACKSON. By *Tom W. Campbell.* (Little Rock, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1941, pp. 557, $3.00.) This volume, dedicated to Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, is written by an attorney in Little Rock as a tribute to two of the kinds of fighters he admires. Hero number one is Matthew Lyon, born in County Wicklow in 1750 and after his migration fighting all over the landscape from Vermont by way of Kentucky to a peaceful death in the Ozarks. Hero number two is Andrew Jackson, equally pugnacious if not a bog-born Irishman. The author finds much in common between the two besides the assessment of unjust fines. Both made enough political capital out of the fines to forward their public careers. No one will begrudge the author the good time he had gathering and presenting rather vigorously and interestingly, if uncritically, the careers of his two heroes. From the standpoint of making a contribution to history the author would have done well to concentrate on a more objective appraisal of the career of Matthew Lyon, "the man who elected Jefferson" (chap. IV). His tangle with the Federalists and the Alien and Sedition laws makes a sounder claim to a place in history. There are no footnotes, and though the check list of books consulted is long, there is no evidence that the author has gone beyond McLaughlin's more complete but equally eulogistic account published forty years ago.

ANNAPOLIS: GANGWAY TO THE QUARTERDECK. By Captain *W. D. Puleston,* United States Navy. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. xvi, 259, $3.00.) An interesting history of the Naval Academy by an approving alumnus. The book lacks documentation and scrupulously avoids any adverse criticism of the system of naval education in the United States. WALDO CHAMBERLIN

A GUIDE TO THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Devin-Adair, 1941, pp. 158, $2.00.) "Includes a history of the Academy, its customs and traditions, and a description of the life of midshipmen".

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 1860-1940. By *Richard Booker.* (Chicago, Fawley-Brost, 1252 North Clark Street, 1941, pp. 67, $3.00.)

THEY KNEW LINCOLN. By *John E. Washington.* With an Introduction by Carl Sandburg. (New York, Dutton, 1942, pp. 244, $3.75.) Perhaps they did know Lincoln, these old colored people, if not in the flesh then in the spirit. The author had sought them out in all corners of the land and brought together their stories in a volume that is at least a contribution to the folklore of a people freed from slavery by a man who was to them another Saviour. The simplicity and loving piety with which this record was gathered and told lift it beyond judgment by the canons of historical criticism. The reproductions of posters, photos, letters, and other memorabilia give unusual value to this saga of the great emancipator.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XII. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.] (Northfield, the Association, 1941, pp. vii, 203, $2.00.) It is impossible for the editor of any historical journal to demand that all contributors observe the same standards of scholarship and literary

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quality. In view of this and of the necessary limitation in the scope of the *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* which reduces the number of possible contributors, the *Studies and Records* are a major achievement in the history of American historical journals. Every article in Volume XII is either a historical interpretation, the result of painstaking research, or a bibliography, or reminiscences, memoirs, or recollections of historical interest though, perhaps, of varied value. Complexities of immigrant life have never had a keener observer than the editor of the *Studies and Records,* and the range of subject matter of this particular volume is very wide. It is, therefore, impossible in a short review to point out the merits and shortcomings of the varied contributions. By far the most interesting one is Miss Marjorie M. Kimmerle's study, "Norwegian-American Surnames". Of course, it is known that all non-English-speaking foreigners have had to change their surnames to meet the linguistic demands of the new country. The reasons are almost obvious, but how these changes in surnames took place among the Norwegian immigrants is a valuable case study, and Miss Kimmerle's article deserves special recognition as a work that is well done and admirably presented. Miss Ella Valborg Rølvaag's "Norwegian Folk Narrative in America" is also praiseworthy, but it seems to the reviewer that the title is too inclusive and holds out greater promise than the research has warranted. The other contributions have a more limited appeal, chiefly to the student of Norwegian immigration, and perhaps one of them in particular might have been left out of the publication without serious loss. This is more than can be said of most journals.

O. Fritiof Ander

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN NATION. By *Reginald C. McGrane,* Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. (Boston, Ginn, 1942, pp. xii, 690, $3.75.) This is a textbook designed to trace the economic development of the United States. The author employs the chronological rather than the topical method, the main divisions being the periods between panics. To provide the smooth-flowing narrative that one finds in the book it was necessary to include more detailed information on political activities than is ordinarily found in textbooks on American economic history. This detail is included at the expense of other information more fundamental to the author's purpose. The result is both good and bad. The story is well organized, the division of space is modern, the narrative moves from one issue to another with perfect integration and clear relationship. No abrupt jumps are necessary, and the transitions are not strained. The economist will argue that this is not an economic history of the United States but is instead a general history with the social and cultural features eliminated. In fact there is little information in this study, except in somewhat greater detail, that is not available in the best of the general textbooks in American history. The technical developments in manufacturing, mining, agriculture, meat packing, and marketing which are so essential to the economic historian are given slight consideration. The author's attention is focused too much on stock market crises and too little on the rapid series of industrial revolutions which were remaking America. Professor McGrane has given an excellent account of the swift rise of the American nation, but he throws little light, for example, on the way the Kansas land pattern came to be what it is today, or how and where the lumber industry rose and fell, or what are the causes of the ills in the coal industry, or why some trusts failed and others succeeded.

Paul W. Gates

MARKETING LIFE INSURANCE: ITS HISTORY IN AMERICA. By *J. Owen Stalson.* [Harvard Studies in Business History, VI, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xl, 911, $6.00.) This is the first scholarly study of the marketing problem of life insurance companies. Dr. Stalson, himself a

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successful life underwriter, believes that both the greatness and many of the weaknesses of life insurance are due to the agency system. Without agents most of the Life and Trust companies of the early nineteenth century became only trust companies. With agents the mutuals of the forties grew rapidly and survived the Civil War, the wild postwar days of "rugged individualism", and have reached the point where they touch the financial hopes of sixty million people and administer as trustees some 20 per cent of our wealth. Even Social Security legislation (though without agents) is a result of the long education of the American people, by the army of life agents, as to the advantages of group action in attaining financial security. Relating in interesting detail the post-Civil War faults of much life insurance management, the author traces the beginning of the demand for more professional training for agents. He maintains that this arose primarily from certain outstanding agents rather than from "complacent Home Offices" still more intent on large production than on the quality of their representatives before the public. Stalson writes of these leaders and of the Chartered Life Underwriter movement, which gives a professional degree (CLU) to qualified career life underwriters. While acknowledging recent co-operation and increased Home Office alertness in selection and training of agents, he urges them to go still further in elimination of the unfit, studies of proper compensation of agents, and a higher degree of professional education. Here opens a wider service to a better-satisfied public. This timely and readable book has a well-balanced, impartial point of view. The 225 pages of notes and appendixes are full of interesting material from original sources. Notable is the fact, believe it or not, that this volume is an expanded doctor's thesis whose subject was proposed by the candidate. The result is a study of a single business, of which we must have many more before we can write the economic history of the United States. MARTHA WASHBURN ALLIN

TWO FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM. By *John Corbin.* (New York, Scribner's, 1940, pp. xii, 420, $3.50.)

THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Arthur N. Holcombe,* Professor of Government, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. vi, 304, $2.50.)

FEDERAL COÖPERATION WITH THE STATES UNDER THE COMMERCE CLAUSE. By *Joseph E. Kallenbach.* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942, pp. 436, $4.00.)

A CENTURY AT THE BAR OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Charles Henry Butler.* (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 244, $3.00.)

THE SUPREME COURT AND JUDICIAL REVIEW. By *Robert K. Carr,* Dartmouth College. [American Government in Action Series, Phillips Bradley, Editor.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, pp. xiv, 304, college edition $1.50.)

PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATIONS. By *George Roscoe Dulebohn.* (Philadelphia, the author, care of Girard College, 1941, pp. 108, $2.00.)

AMERICA'S FIRST CRUSADE. By *Herbert Hoover.* (New York, Scribner's, 1942, pp. viii, 81, $1.25.) A reprint of Mr. Hoover's recent articles in the *Saturday Evening Post.*

SIGNPOSTS OF EXPERIENCE. World War Memoirs of Major General *William J. Snow,* USA-Retired, Chief of Field Artillery, 1918-1927. (Washington, United States Field Artillery Association, 1941, pp. 317, $2.75.)

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THE UNITED STATES AS A FACTOR IN WORLD HISTORY. By *Theodore Clarke Smith,* Professor Emeritus of United States History in Williams College. [The Berkshire Studies in European History, General Editors, Richard A. Newhall, Laurence B. Packard, Sidney R. Packard.] (New York, Holt, 1941, pp. viii, 142, $1.00.) Tracing the influence of the United States in world history practically resolves itself into writing an epitome of American history from 1763 to 1940, with especial emphasis on international relations of all kinds. No two persons would probably see the picture in exactly the same perspective. Professor Smith necessarily has to use broad strokes and omit nearly all details; in other words, this little book consists of a series of generalizations which must be judged by the total impression made, for if one stops to examine almost any one of the sweeping assertions there arise in his mind qualifying modifications. Does the book leave the reader who possesses no considerable knowledge of the topic a reasonably accurate impression? Probably on the whole, yes. Nevertheless, it may be hoped that any reader who takes the exposition seriously will be led to read in some of the works suggested in the selective bibliography and thus obtain a somewhat less dogmatic view. The reader with some detailed knowledge of American history might feel, for example, that isolationism in the United States has been somewhat overemphasized; that the picture of Britain as "an enemy and rival" has not enough explanatory detail to explain the general assertion; or, to take a minor item, that in 1820 the Union was not quite so seriously threatened over the issue of the admission of Missouri as is intimated here. The work, like the others in this series, has value, but its users should be cautioned against taking it all as gospel.

L. B. SHIPPEE

THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER. By *Whitney Hart Shepardson.* (Claremont, Claremont Colleges, 1942, pp. vii, 64, $1.75.) "The plan of these three lectures is as follows: first, to try to define the chief interests of the United States as a world power; second, to consider the means whereby such interests, such ends, may be served; and third, to attempt to find the element binding the means to the ends."

AMERICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By *Allan Nevins.* [The World To-day.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 140, $1.00.)

DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL UNITY. Contributors, *Thomas Reed Powell, Henry F. Pringle, Herbert Agar, Harold G. Moulton, Matthew Woll, Oliver E. Baker.* Edited by *William T. Hutchinson.* [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. xi, 140, $1.00.)

ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY: HOW INDUSTRY BUILDS OUR DEFENSE. By *Burnham Finney.* (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941, pp. x, 284, $2.50.)

AMERICA IN ARMS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH MILITARY ORGANIZATION. By *John McAuley Palmer,* Brigadier General, United States Army, Retired. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. viii, 207, $2.00.) *Arsenal of Democracy* is a methodical survey of the task of war production as it could be discerned at the beginning of 1941. It is a survey from a professional and technical standpoint, and for this the editor of the *American Machinist* is in every sense a competent hand. His book is well planned and concise and presents its more or less technical problems in a nontechnical style. In *America in Arms* General Palmer surveys from the earliest day the problem of wartime expansion of the Regular Army. Many readers will find most interest in the later chapters, dealing

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with the fundamental reshaping of the War Department by Elihu Root. The far-reaching importance of Root's achievement has hardly been recognized. For a century or so the department had carried on with what might be termed an unorganized organization; the new structure created by Elihu Root made it possible for the army to carry through the unprecedented task of 1917. In the next important stage, the National Defense Act of 1920, the author played an important part; and his record of the proceedings within the Senate Military Affairs Committee is decidedly of historical value. After his retirement from active service General Palmer was called upon as an expert adviser by Grenville Clark and others who were developing the Burke-Wadsworth Bill in the spring of 1940. The outcome of this was a twofold political miracle: the passing of a conscription law not only in peacetime but even in the midst of a presidential campaign. Another result was that for the first time in our history an American army began forming and training on a war footing before the actual outbreak of war. "Many courageous men and women, in and out of Congress—and chief among them Grenville Clark—took part in winning this great victory of organized democracy." Without the foresight and courage of this private initiative, what would be our position today? T. H. THOMAS

THE NATIONAL BITUMINOUS COAL COMMISSION: ADMINISTRATION OF THE BITUMINOUS COAL ACT, 1937-1941. By *Ralph Hillis Baker.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. 356, cloth $3.50, paper $3.00.)

ORGANIZING FOR TOTAL WAR. Edited by *Francis James Brown.* [Annals, Volume 220.] (Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1942, pp. 296, $2.50, paper $2.00.)

LOCAL HISTORY AND WINNING THE WAR. By *Sylvester K. Stevens.* [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 2.] (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1942, pp. 27-50, 35 cents.)

POSTWAR PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES. By *George B. Galloway.* Revised and enlarged edition. (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1942, pp. xi, 158, 60 cents.)

THE PROGRAM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN CULTURAL RELATIONS. [Department of State.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 32, 5 cents.)

PHASES OF AMERICAN CULTURE. (Worcester, Holy Cross College Press, 1942, pp. 83, $2.00.)

I HAVE CONSIDERED THE DAYS. By *Cyrus Adler.* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941, pp. xiii, 447, $2.50.)

ILL FARES THE LAND: MIGRANTS AND MIGRATORY LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Carey McWilliams.* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1942, pp. 419, $3.00.)

THE ECONOMIC NOVEL IN AMERICA. By *Walter Fuller Taylor.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942, pp. 389, $4.00.)

MUSIC COMES TO AMERICA. By *David Ewen.* (New York, Crowell, 1942, pp. 319, $3.00.) The history and present status of music in America.

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LOU GEHRIG, A QUIET HERO. By *Frank Graham.* (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 250, $2.00.)

YOUTH AND THE FUTURE: THE GENERAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION. (Washington, American Council on Education, 1942, pp. xix, 296, $2.50.)

ARTICLES

ALFRED C. MILLER, JR. Jefferson as an Agriculturist. *Agricultural Hist.,* Apr.

F. H. REISNER. General Muhlenberg's Attempts to capture Benedict Arnold. *Historian, Phi Alpha Theta,* Spring.

GEORGE WILSON PIERSON. The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory. *New Eng. Quar.,* June.

ARTHUR C. COLE. The Puritan and Fair Terpsichore. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* June.

J. HENRY FRANCIS. The Star-Spangled Banner: How and Why it came to be Written. *West Virginia Hist.,* July.

JOSEPHINE LUMPKINS. Antislavery and Manifest Destiny. *Susquehanna Univ. Stud.,* Mar.

FRANK LUTHER MOTT. Facetious News Writing, 1833-1883. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* June.

ANDREAS DORPALEN. The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War. *Ibid.*

F. LAURISTON BULLARD. Lincoln's "Conquest" of New England. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.,* June.

ROY P. BASLER. The Authorship of the "Rebecca" Letters. *Ibid.*

Sister MARY EVANGELA. Bishop Spalding's Work on the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. *Cath. Hist. Rev.,* July.

JOHN LOMBARDI. Mobilizing Labor in 1917 and 1918. *Progress-Bull.,* I, no. 1 (Apr.).

ALMON R. WRIGHT. Food Purchases of the Allies, 1917-1918. *Agricultural Hist.,* Apr.

MAXCY R. DICKSON. The Food Administration—Educator. *Ibid.*

AVERY CRAVEN. American Traditions and the Present Crisis. *A. L. A. Bull.,* July.

MERLE CURTI. The American Scholar in Three Wars. *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* June.

FRANCIS O. WILCOX. The Monroe Doctrine and World War II. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.,* June.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

INDIAN PLACE-NAMES OF THE PENOBSCOT VALLEY AND THE MAINE COAST. By *Fannie Hardy Eckstorm.* [University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 55.] (Orono, University Press, 1941, pp. xxix, 272, $1.50.)

THE CHARLES. By *Arthur Bernon Tourtellot.* [The Rivers of America.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, pp. x, 356, $2.50.)

CANTON CAPTAIN. By *James Brendan Connolly.* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1942, pp. 342, $3.00.) "The life story of Robert Bennet Forbes, famous New England sea captain and merchant of the 19th century, who played an important part in the China trade".

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A MODERN COMMUNITY. By *W. Lloyd Warner* and *Paul S. Lunt.* [Yankee City Series, Volume I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. xx, 460, $4.00.)

THE STATUS SYSTEM OF A MODERN COMMUNITY. By *W. Lloyd Warner* and *Paul S. Lunt.* [Yankee City Series, Volume II.] (*Ibid.,* 1942, pp. xx, 246, $3.00.)

COLONIAL CHARTERS, PATENTS, AND GRANTS TO THE COMMUNITIES COMPRISING THE CITY OF NEW YORK. By *Jerrold Seymann,* Legal Staff, Board of Statutory Consolidation of the City of New York. (New York, Board of Statutory Consolidation of the City of New York, 1939, pp. xxiv, 612.)

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JOHN PETER ZENGER: HIS PRESS, HIS TRIAL, AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ZENGER IMPRINTS; ALSO A REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE TRIAL. By *Livingston Rutherfurd.* Reprint edition. (New York, Peter Smith, 1942, pp. 275, $5.00.)

THE MOHAWK RIVER AND ITS VALLEY, NEW YORK'S GREAT PATHWAY. By *L. F. Barth* and *W. Lefferts.* (Philadelphia, F. A. Davis, 1941, pp. 78, 40 cents.)

CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN PORTRAITS IN THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1941, pp. 374, $2.00.)

SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1941, pp. 96, $1.00.)

THE LIFE OF EMMA THURSBY, 1845-1931. By *Richard McCandless Gipson.* (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1940, pp. xxii, 470, $7.50.) The subject is the well-known vocalist, "the American Jenny Lind". The volume is made up from the letters, diary, concert programs, newspaper clippings, and similar memorabilia accumulated by artists. Miss Thursby was deservedly successful on the concert stage and in opera, and her simple and unaffected womanhood won for her many friends, of whom the chief was Ole Bull. Nevertheless, one wonders why the New-York Historical Society chose to use a volume of almost five hundred pages, beautifully printed on rag paper, to reproduce so much of this trivia. Its archives must contain much more important material awaiting publication.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE IN NEW JERSEY. By *Robert V. Hoffman.* (New York, American Historical Company, 1942, pp. 303, $2.50.)

WILDERNESS CHRONICLES OF NORTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey (Frontier Forts and Trails Survey), Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. Edited by *Sylvester K. Stevens* and *Donald H. Kent.* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941, pp. xix, 342, cloth $1.00, paper 75 cents.) This is a collection of contemporary documents, chronologically arranged, dealing with the region of northwestern Pennsylvania from 1728 to 1764—the period of the French explorations, the French and Indian War, and the Conspiracy of Pontiac. The book is divided into twelve sections, each with a short introduction giving historical background. Annotations explain some of the references to names and places mentioned in the documents but do not pretend to be exhaustive. "To make the book as readable and comprehensible as possible" the editors have brought raised letters down to the line, spelled out the &-sign, and made a few emendations. For about a third of the papers the editors note an earlier printing, in such collections as the *New York Colonial Documents,* the *Pennsylvania Archives,* and the *Massachusetts Historical Collections;* it is the impression of the reviewer that some manuscripts not so noted, such as Bouquet's letter written after the Battle of Bushy Run, have also appeared in print previously. Letters from Margry's *Découvertes* and from Library of Congress photostats of material in the Archives nationales have been translated into English for this volume. Roughly half of the book is from the Bouquet Papers, transcribed from Library of Congress photostats. Probably the freshest material is that for the years 1760-62, the correspondence relating to the building of the English posts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango and to the life of the garrisons there. A bibliography and a good index are provided; and among the eight illustrations are four contemporary maps and a plan.

ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK

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THE GOLDEN FLOOD: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF AMERICA'S FIRST OIL FIELD. By *Herbert Asbury*. (New York, Knopf, 1942, pp. 324, xv, $3.50.) The author of this book and of other gaudy titles about the historical cesspools of various cities and periods in American history has done his scavenging this time in western Pennsylvania at the time of the rise of the oil industry and the beginnings of Standard Oil. The history is strictly "informal" and, insofar as it is historical, is familiar. Sin among the derricks is the real theme, and how the author does revel in all the details!

THE HISTORY OF LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF COAL MINERS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1824-1915. By *Alexander Trachtenberg*. Introduction by Prof. Henry W. Farnam. (New York, International Publishers, 1942, pp. xvi, 239, $2.75.) The manuscript was finished in 1917. There has been little or nothing in the intervening years to modify text or conclusions.

PENNSYLVANIA CAVALCADE. Compiled by the Pennsylvania Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration. [American Guide Series.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, pp. x, 462, $3.00.) This volume, a series of readable and interesting panoramic views from Pennsylvania history, is divided into four main sections: Historic Places, Historic Highlights, Experimental Settlements, and Transportation. The historic places range chronologically from Tinicum, the first Swedish settlement, to Wheatland, the residence of James Buchanan; geographically from Tinicum on the Delaware to Presque Isle on Lake Erie. The discussion of each place is not confined solely to the time when events about it made it important or interesting; its subsequent history and modern aspect are also sketched. The historic high lights embrace not only events of military importance, such as the Battle of Bushy Run and "The Third Day at Gettysburg", but also matters of social or economic importance, such as the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, the oil borings at Titusville, the Johnstown flood, and the Homestead strike. Experimental settlements treated include not only the relatively well-known Ephrata and Harmony colonizations but also Asylum, an attempted colonization by French royalist refugees, and "God's Green Acres", which in 1864 were formally deeded to Almighty God by Peter Armstrong and his wife, and upon which the faithful were urged to settle and "await the second coming of Jesus". The section on transportation, containing somewhat more conventional material, begins with a sketch of "America's First Paved Road" and ends with a description of the building of the modern super-highway. A preface by J. Knox Milligan, supervisor of the Pennsylvania Writers' Project, indicates that the compiling and writing for this volume were directed by Grant M. Sassaman and that the line drawings heading the essays were the product of artists of the Pennsylvania Art Project, under the supervision of Michael Gallagher. The book contains an index and a twenty-four-page bibliography, with a section for each chapter title. ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK

CATALOGUE, DESCRIPTIVE AND CRITICAL, OF THE PAINTINGS AND MINIATURES IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. By *William Sawitzky*. (Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1942, pp. xiv, 285, $5.00.)

PHILADELPHIA LIBRARIES: A SURVEY OF FACILITIES, NEEDS, AND OPPORTUNITIES. A Report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York by the Bibliographical Planning Committee of Philadelphia. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, pp. 95, $3.50.)

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MALARIA AND COLONIZATION IN THE CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY, 1526-1696. By *St. Julien Ravenel Childs*, Department of History, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940, pp. 292, $2.50.)

THE MANGROVE COAST: THE STORY OF THE WEST COAST OF FLORIDA. By *Karl A. Bickel*. (New York, Coward-McCann, 1942, pp. 352, $3.50.)

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THE NEGRO OF THE OLD SOUTH: A BIT OF PERIOD HISTORY. By *Susan Bradford Eppes.* (Tallahassee, the author, 825 East Park Avenue, 1941, pp. 219, $2.00.)

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A SURVEY OF RESEARCH MATERIALS IN VIRGINIA LIBRARIES, 1936-37. Compiled by *Harry Clemons.* Revised edition. [University of Virginia Bibliographical Series, No. 1.] (Charlottesville, Alderman Library, 1941, pp. 100, apply.)

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MARK F. BOYD. Letters and Reports passing between the Commanders at Apalache (St. Marks), Governor Grant at St. Augustine, General Haldimand at Pensacola, and General Gage, Commander-in-Chief at New York, 1766-1767. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

A GLOSSARY OF MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FRENCH, 1673-1850. By *John Francis McDermott,* Assistant Professor of English, Washington University. [Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, No. 12.] (St. Louis, Washington University, 1941, pp. ix, 161, $1.50.) Anyone who has struggled with French terms in common use throughout North America since 1650 or thereabouts will find this volume of extraordinary usefulness. For at least four years the reviewer tried to learn the meaning of *foutreau.* Finally she found it in an obscure Canadian publication. Had this glossary been available, she would have been spared much time and energy. The word means mink but is long obsolete. Another word that baffled her for long appears in the glossary: *dépouille,* a choice buffalo cut. From the glossary she has also learned the true meaning of *bois tor* or *tors.* This expression had to go with a question mark as to its meaning in a recent publication by the reviewer. The glossary shows that it refers to the common bittersweet, which fur traders were sometimes obliged to eat for lack of anything better. An interesting introduction points out the pitfalls for the student who translates the French of the eighteenth century like Parisian French of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus a *habitation* was not a house but a farm. A *désert* (*e. g.*, as in Lac du Vieux Désert) was not a wild or deserted region but a cultivated field. A *Bastonais,* or *Bostonais,* was not necessarily a Boston man but any American. A *divorce* was merely a legal separation. A *marais* was not a swamp when applied to areas on coasts or large lakes. There it referred to bays or other places of landing on a generally inaccessible coastline. The term survives in Grand Marais and Little Marais on the north shore of Lake Superior in Minnesota, where a swamp would be an impossibility. GRACE LEE NUTE

EARLY DAYS IN DANVILLE. By *Calvin Morgan Fackler.* (Danville, the author, 850 West Lexington Street, 1941, pp. viii, 283, $3.00.) Kentucky's sesquicentennial celebration unhappily has fallen upon the evil days of war emotion. Normal programs

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and commemorative publications survive only with difficulty. Doubly welcome, therefore, is Fackler's *Early Days in Danville,* the home of the first constitution. A strong rival of Harrodsburg for honors in "firsts", Danville claims the first post office of the state, first home of the supreme court, the political club, and famous Dr. Ephraim McDowell. In seven chapters are scattered notes on every aspect of the town and its institutions from 1774 to 1850, with citation to deeds, wills, and documents of many kinds. Fortunately a full index enables the reader to overcome the heavy effect of some sections that are scarcely more than catalogues. The author is a cheerful guide, lending spice and interest by personal "asides" and comments (p. 93). He seems to have used the Presbyterian records with avidity, exposing their church trials at some length; but lack of records of the other local churches does not assure the Baptists and Methodists "that they were all impeccant" (p. 210). The typography is somewhat irregular, often lifting footnotes to the middle of the page. The bibliography is sketchy; the illustrations good. The book satisfies a distinct need; it is solid, cautious, and well documented. It will find a good place in any collection of Kentuckiana.

EDWARD TUTHILL

LEWIS AND CLARK: LINGUISTIC PIONEERS. By *Elijah Harry Criswell,* Associate Professor of English, University of Tulsa. [The University of Missouri Studies, Volume XV, Number 2.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1940, pp. ccxi, 102, $1.25.)

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN APACHE. By *Grenville Goodwin.* [The University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Ethnological Series.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. xx, 701, $4.50.) This volume is perhaps one that does not enter directly the historical field. It cannot be ignored by the historian of the Southwest or by that goodly number of historians who think and write of the Apaches in terms of frontier wars of reprisal and extermination. It would be hard to conceive of a more complete ethnological study of a primitive people. The Western Apache is seen as nearly as possible through his own eyes as a member of his own organizations. The young scholar who devoted years to living among the Apache died before his finished manuscript was through the press.

THE HAGEN SITE: A PREHISTORIC VILLAGE ON THE LOWER YELLOWSTONE. By *William Mulloy.* With Articles by *Everett Olson* and *Richard Snodgrasse. Harry Holbert Turney-High,* Editor. [The University of Montana Publications in the Social Sciences, Number One; The Work Projects Administration, Eastern Montana State Normal School, Montana State University Cooperating.] (Missoula, Montana State University, 1942, pp. ix, 106, to be sent on request as long as the edition lasts.)

THE ASHLEY-SMITH EXPLORATIONS AND THE DISCOVERY OF A CENTRAL ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC, 1822-1829. With the Original Journals edited by *Harrison Clifford Dale,* President of the University of Idaho. Revised edition. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1941, pp. 360, $6.00.) The first edition of this book (1918), which was quickly recognized as an important contribution to the history of a great period in Western fur trade and exploration, has long been out of print; a new edition is welcome. The revisions, made necessary by the appearance of much new material, have to do with details rather than the fundamentals of the narrative. The first part of the book, an essay on "The Fur Trade and the Progress of Discovery to 1822", provides a convenient summary of activities in the Northwest; as before, the Southwest receives slight attention. The changes in the second section, which contains the Ashley Narrative of 1825 and an excellent sketch of Ashley's Western activities, have been evoked in part by the appearance of Camp's *James Clyman* (1928). In the section

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on Jedediah Smith, which is built around the Harrison G. Rogers Journals, President Dale traces Smith's route with greater precision, gives a more detailed account of the massacre on the Umpqua River, and describes more fully the relations between Smith and the Hudson's Bay Company; the most important new source here is Sullivan's *Travels of Jedediah Smith* (1934). As to form, the second edition differs from the first in pagination and in the systematic reduction to lower case of many capital letters —even the names of the months and in quotations. Other departures from accepted usage or slight errors noted include the spelling of Dr. John McLoughlin's name (pp. 275-93, *passim*); Perry for Parry (p. 236); inaccurate bibliographical data on the Fletcher article (pp. 189, 324); inexact copying of quotations (pp. 225, 284); and the omission of some important names, including that of William H. Ashley, from the index. The map in the first edition appears to have been used without revision in the second, although minor changes have been suggested for Smith's route through Utah and Nevada (pp. 183-85, 227). This book remains one of the major sources in its field; its usefulness is enhanced by its attractive format. COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

FROM HONEYMOON TO MASSACRE: THE STORY OF MARCUS AND NARCISSA WHITMAN. By *Stella Parker Peterson.* (Takoma Park, D. C., Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1941, pp. 192, $1.75.)

AN INDEX TO GOVERNORS' MESSAGES, WISCONSIN, 1848-1935. (Madison, Historical Records Survey, 1941, pp. 186, mimeographed, apply.)

JOHN S. WRIGHT, PROPHET OF THE PRAIRIES. By *Lloyd Lewis.* (Chicago, Prairie Farmer Publishing Company, 1230 Washington Boulevard, 1941, pp. viii, 215, $2.50.) This little volume, devoted in large part to the educational and agricultural history of Illinois in the 1830's, contains also material on Old John Brown not previously printed by any of his biographers. J. MONAGHAN

SIX FRENCH LETTERS: CAPTAIN JOHN AUGUSTUS SUTTER TO JEAN JACQUES VIOGET, 1842-1843. Together with Translations in English by the Nugget Editions Club of C. K. McClatchy Senior High School. (Sacramento, Nugget Press, 1942, pp. x, 40.)

A PIONEER AT SUTTER'S FORT, 1846-1850: THE ADVENTURES OF HEINRICH LIENHARD. Translated, edited, and annotated by *Marguerite Eyer Wilbur.* [The Calafía Society.] (Santa Barbara, Wallace Hebberd, 3 Carrillo Street, 1941, pp. xix, 291, $5.00.)

WESTWARD AMERICA. By *Howard Roscoe Driggs.* Illustrated by William H. Jackson. [Trails Edition.] (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 322, $5.00.)

LONGHORN COWBOY. By *James H. Cook.* Edited by *Howard R. Driggs.* (New York, Putnam, 1942, pp. 252, $2.00.)

DEBATES OF THE MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875. Edited by *Isidor Loeb* and *Floyd C. Shoemaker.* Volume VIII. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942, pp. 533, $1.45.)

LA FOLLETTE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN WISCONSIN, 1890-1904. By *Allen Fraser Lovejoy,* Class of 1941, Yale College. [Paterson Prize Essays, Yale University, Volume I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 107, $1.00.) This undergraduate prize essay constitutes a commendable contribution to scholarly production. The subject is not new to scholars, but no other

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author has presented the story in such complete detail. The treatment follows, in the main, the La Follette outline and viewpoints given in his *Autobiography*. The author has utilized legislative records, newspapers, and interviews with participants, as well as periodicals and secondary works dealing with his topic. The general presentation of the struggle for the enactment of primary legislation in Wisconsin raises no serious question. The cause for the movement, its place and significance in the history of the period, raise more difficult problems. To explain the interest in direct primaries on the grounds of single party domination, factionalism within major parties, or as a result of the Progressive movement is hardly adequate. La Follette gave as his own candid reason for establishing the direct primary system the desire to overturn corrupt, machine-ridden politics. Incidentally, to do this, he had to take office and hold power. The old machine was organized and functioning in the populous southern and eastern portions of the state. La Follette found the Norwegian and German rural elements politically unorganized. These were receptive groups on whom to apply his talents. For these dispersed voters the primary was a very applicable device. By legalizing a nominating procedure that could utilize this politically unorganized majority he made an application of democratic principle and established his predominance for life in the politics of the state. The reviewer sees little reason to offer economic explanations for the varying majorities upon the primary law within the several counties. After three vigorous contests and six years of campaigning, the matter was reduced to personal loyalties and power politics. The work contains an annotated bibliography, votes on primary law by counties reduced to percentages, and an index.

J. L. SELLERS

THE MINNESOTA COMMISSION OF ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE, 1925-1939: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By *Lloyd M. Short,* Professor of Political Science and Director of the Public Administration Training Center at the University of Minnesota, and *Carl W. Tiller*. [Public Administration Training Center, University of Minnesota, Studies in Administration, Number One.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942, pp. xiii, 160, $2.00.)

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Latin-American History

J. W. Caughey

LATIN AMERICA AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT: ESSAYS. By *Arthur P. Whitaker, Roland D. Hussey, Harry Bernstein, John Tate Lanning, Arthur Scott Aiton,* and *Alexander D. Marchant.* Introduction by Federico de Onís. Edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. [The Appleton-Century Historical Essays.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1942, pp. xiii, 130, $1.25.) This book serves the double function of arousing an interest and of satisfying an interest already aroused. The six essays, four of them read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in New York in 1940 and two added to round out the subject, are limited primarily to a study of European thought and education in Latin America during the eighteenth century. Mr. Whitaker calls our attention to the growth of knowledge about Latin America as a reverse phase of the Enlightenment. Inter-American interest was found to be fairly well developed in the eighteenth century, according to Mr. Bernstein, although he limited his essay primarily to the interest of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Mr. Lanning warns us against the common error of using present instead of contemporary standards in measuring the colonial culture of Latin America. In spite of the barriers of inertia, he adds, and the occasional stirrings of a more or less quiescent Inquisition, many a modern idea found its way into the Spanish colonies. We have but to scan Mr. Hussey's comprehensive list of works by European authors found in Latin America to appreciate the scope of European influence. Mr. Marchant,

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basing his views on a study of Brazilian academies and private libraries, concludes that, "contrary to prevailing notions, there was an Enlightenment in Brazil". The source of the Enlightenment cannot be attributed to any one country, although France appeared to play the most important part. It is difficult to establish the nationality of an idea. Likewise, when ideas pass from country to country they generally pass through a metamorphosis or transmutation. As Mr. Aiton said, French ideas were applied to America only after they had been "transmuted and given a distinctly Spanish stamp of individuality". Each author made his contribution to the whole but followed no standard form in the use of footnotes and bibliography. The general result, however, is a timely book of stimulating information and a step in the Enlightenment of the United States. JOHN RYDJORD

ANUARIO DE HISTORIA ARGENTINA: AÑO 1940. [Sociedad de Historia Argentina.] (Buenos Aires, Domingo Viau y Cía., 1941, pp. 827.) This second yearbook of the Sociedad de Historia Argentina is an impressive testimony to the vigor of Argentine historical scholarship. Besides eight original articles (one by a North American scholar), there are over three hundred pages of various types of documents and the reprinting of a strong protest by Vicente Lecuna of the Venezuelan Academia Nacional de Historia against the book by the Argentine, Eduardo L. Colombres Mármol. Besides all this the text is given of radio talks on various historical topics sponsored by the Sociedad, and there are records of recent Argentine legislation on historical matters, a valuable list of Argentine institutions devoted to historical studies, a chronicle of the activities and publications of the Sociedad, book reviews, and an extensive list of publications on Argentine anthropology. Nine illustrations, including four maps, add to the attractiveness of this handsome volume. The original articles, most of which are based on primary sources, are: Juan Alvarez, "Sobre la conveniencia de escribir la historia de nuestros ríos"; Miron Burgin, "El problema de la tarifa y la política arancelaria bajo el régimen federal"; Mario Belgrano, "La cuestión de la nacionalidad y el tratado con España de 1863"; Carlos Roberts, "El duque de Orleans"; Ricardo Zorraquín Becú, "Rosas y las actuales tendencias históricas"; Eugenio Corbet France, "La Real Cédula de represalia contra los portugueses, de 11 de junio de 1704: Su obedecimiento en Buenos Aires"; Efraím Cardozo, "La fundación de la ciudad de Asunción en 1541"; and Julio César González, "El Real Consulado de Buenos Aires durante las invasiones inglesas (1806-1807)". Perhaps the most interesting of these is the excellent statement on the Rosas problem today by Ricardo Zorraquín Becú. Although most of the material in this volume concerns Argentina, the editors express the hope that it will serve as "an instrument of Americanismo", which will create effective bonds between all the historians of the continent. LEWIS HANKE

SOUTH AMERICA, WITH MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA. By *John Brande Trend*. [The World To-day.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 128, $1.00.)

ANALYSIS OF INCA MILITARISM. By *Joseph Bram*. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1941, pp. 85, $1.50.)

THE MEXICAN WOOL INDUSTRY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY [microfilm]. By *William Howard Dusenberry*. (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1941, pp. 526, $6.58.)

SIX GREAT MEN OF BRAZIL. By *Vera Kelsey*. [New World Neighbors.] (Boston, Heath, 1942, pp. 63, 40 cents.)

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THESES ON PAN AMERICAN TOPICS, PREPARED BY CANDIDATES FOR DEGREES IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES. Third edition, revised and enlarged. [Bibliographic Series, No. 5.] (Washington, Pan American Union, 1941, pp. 174, 75 cents.)

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Jerome V. Jacobsen. Nóbrega of Brazil. *Mid-America*, July.

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Charles W. Centner. The "Tacna" Case: An Episode in Anglo-Chilean Relations, 1874-75. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.

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Historical News

American Historical Association

The Fifty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Columbus, Ohio, on December 29, 30, and 31. In choosing Columbus as a substitute for Baltimore or Washington the Executive Committee has conformed to the request of the Office of Defense Transportation that, so far as possible, meetings involving considerable attendance be not held in Atlantic seaboard cities or at the beginning or end of a week. The whole matter of scientific meetings under present conditions was reviewed by the Science Committee, advisory to the National Resources Planning Board. This committee, composed of representatives of the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Council on Education, issued to all constituent members a statement which had been prepared after consultation with the branches of the Federal government most concerned. The essential paragraphs, aside from those on time and place of meetings and present difficulties of travel, are here quoted.

In view of the fact that the present emergency calls for the greatest mobilization of scientists, scholars, and educators in the history of the United States, it is clear that the societies and associations into which they are organized have an important part in the war effort. This part includes not only direct participation by scientists, technologists, scholars, and others in war activities, but also the discussion of present and future problems and the maintenance of a vigorous intellectual life. There are no fields of knowledge which are not affected, and which have not some contribution to make.

It may safely be assumed, therefore, that the meetings of scientific, scholarly, and educational societies and associations may be so organized as to be in the public interest. It is important, however, that those meetings should be organized in such a way as not to interfere in any way with the actual prosecution of the war.

The Neil House will be headquarters. The department of history of Ohio State University and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society assure the Association of a cordial welcome. Professor W. H. Siebert of Ohio State University is chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. Further details will be given in the program to be mailed out about December 1. Attention is here called to the fact that the chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Stanley Pargellis, has resigned from Yale University to become head of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

The second news item has already been registered in the faces of all members as they removed the wrapper on this issue of the *Review*. The note in the last issue about changes in cover and format was meant to warn you not to think you had received a sample copy of a new periodical. The changes were made in con-

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formity with long-considered plans and with the aid and guidance of well-known designers and typographers. The Editor and editorial board make grateful acknowledgment to the services of Mr. Carl P. Rollins of the Yale Press, Miss Jane McCarthy, production manager of the University of Minnesota Press, and Mr. W. A. Shell, jr., of the Byrd Press, our printers. Mr. Shell, as well as the Byrd Press, was most generous in working out solutions and preparing sample dummies. The Macmillan Company, our publishers, through Mr. George P. Brett, jr., their president, have approved the present form. The problems were many, including the basic one of not increasing the expenses of publication and yet publishing the same amount of material. Those interested in typography will note many changes. No one will miss the new cover design, the use of eggshell paper instead of the glaring, highly calendered paper which was hard on the eyes and failed to bring out the best points of the Granjon type which we desired to retain, and the substitution of book sewing for the wire side stitching which made you fight with both hands to keep the magazine open. By those who attend to such matters as well as by those who do not, the result must be judged as a very honest effort, under competent technical advice, to make the form of the *Review* approximate in beauty and dignity the values sought in its contents.

Miss Florence Miller, who has been assistant editor for the past two years, has resigned and will return to her home in New York City. In her period of service Miss Miller has maintained the long-established standards of the *Review* in presenting printed pages as free as is humanly possible from errors and misprints. She will be succeeded by Miss Margaret Blegen, an honors graduate of the University of Minnesota in 1941 and for the past year an editorial assistant on the staff of the University of Wisconsin Press.

Arrangements have been made with the publishers of the Beveridge Fund publications to offer at much reduced prices certain volumes published by the Fund. This offer is made in the interest of securing distribution to interested individuals and institutions, especially libraries. The supply of practically all of the issues listed below is distinctly limited, and the volumes will be allowed to go out of print when the stock is exhausted. The following volumes, with their original prices in parentheses, are presently available:

Barnes & Dumond: *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, 2 vols. ($10.00)
Binkley: *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, 2 vols. ($10.00)
Dumond: *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, 2 vols. ($10.00)
Dumond: *Southern Editorials on Secession* ($4.00)
Labaree: *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776* ($10.00)
Lynn and Case: *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867* ($7.00)
Pargellis: *Military Affairs in North America, 1746-1765* ($8.00)

A complete set of all the above list is offered at $15.00, any three titles at $7.00, and any two titles at $5.00. Checks or money orders should be made payable to

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the American Historical Association, and orders should be addressed to the office of the Executive Secretary, Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: eighty-two facsimiles of miscellaneous documents, including some of early papyri, and material relating to the first Japanese embassy to the United States; two Portuguese documents (facsimiles) relating to Duarte Pacheco Pereira, 1520 and 1526; 379 typewritten pages of translations of Spanish manuscripts made from reproductions in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1566-1725; eighteen pieces of miscellaneous Peruvian material (manuscript, typewritten, and printed), 1582-1926; one volume of *Los Franciscanos en Japon,* containing facsimiles of certified copies of documents, 1597, with descriptions in Japanese by José Muños; twenty-three packages of transcripts of records, Nashua, New Hampshire, 1627-1936; seven manuscript boxes of the papers of Montgomery Blair and Levi Woodbury, 1668-1904; one volume of manuscript concerning the Mexican Convento de San Miguel, Huejotzingo, State of Puebla: Libro de la Sacristia, 1703-26; microfilm (31 rolls) of the papers of Thomas Jefferson in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection; one manuscript volume containing "Telemaco en la Isla de Calipso" and "Obsequito de la memoria", by Dr. D. Pedro Joseph Bermúdez de la Torre y Soliér, 1728 and 1718, respectively (restricted); microfilm of thirty papers of the Ballou family of Virginia, 1736-1889; twenty-one papers, including an extract from a letter of Benjamin Franklin, documents and letters signed by James Abercromby, Jeffrey Amherst, Zebulon Pike, James McHenry, Albert Gallatin, James A. Hamilton, Timothy Pickering, Justin Edwards, James G. Birney, Thomas H. Benton, and others, 1755-1867; a letter from Giovanni Battista Martini (Italian musician) dated at Bologna, January 17, 1760; fifty-nine packages of transcripts of records relating to the Port of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and its shipping industry, *ca.* 1766-1937; photostats of notes by Charles Thomson concerning the Stamp Act Congress and the First Continental Congress and pages from his copy of the first volume of *Journals of Congress,* 1774-76, 1777, 1789, and later; eleven photostats of papers of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Noah Webster, 1775-1814; letter from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Benjamin Lincoln, July 24, 1779; photostat of a memorandum written at George Washington's headquarters in June, 1779, entitled "In Case of an Attempt upon West Point"; forty-six volumes and seventy-two papers of Jacob Gerhard Koch, Amsterdam merchant located in Philadelphia (letter books, account books, ledgers, diary, insurance policies, and inventories), 1783-1848; letter from George Washington to George Augustine Washington, August 12, 1787; one volume with notations concerning the Georgia legislature, June 11,

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1791; one-volume diary of [Thomas T.?] Underwood under Captain Anthony Wayne's command, August 20, 1794-January 18, 1797; letter from John Adams to Thomas B. Adams, October 25, 1797; typewritten copies of original (pp. 24) papers of, and pertaining to, Barnabas Bidwell, 1805-1942; an autograph manuscript by Mercy Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* (3 vols., 1805), in six volumes, and a copy in the handwriting of her son, James Warren, jr., in fourteen volumes, with notes for revision for a second edition; two manuscript boxes of the papers of Major Alfred Mordecai, 1810-1933, including his memoirs, travel letters from Europe, 1840, 1855-56, Mexico, 1865, notes on Mexico, and family correspondence, 1810-1933; sixty-two additional boxes and volumes of the papers of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, 1810-1902; photostat of a letter from Tench Coxe to William Eustis, December 11, 1811; six letters from John Elihu Hall to Hermanus Bleecker, 1812-21; three packages of transcripts of the county archives of Tennessee, including the minutes of the court of pleas and quarter sessions of Roane County, 1821-28, and minutes of the circuit court of Hawkins County, 1817-45; an order sent by Simón Bolívar to the governor commanding general of the Province of Neiva, dated Santa Fé, August 21, 1819; two account books (household expenses and inventories of the same) of Nicholas Biddle and his family, 1826-88; typewritten copy of the calendar of the papers of Franklin B. Sexton of Texas, 1835-1900; handwritten copies of three letters from John Charles Frémont to Joel R. Poinsett, 1838-40; one box of papers of Elizabeth Davis Bancroft, George Bancroft, and Miss Elizabeth B. Bliss, 1846-1926; photostat of a letter from Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria, to Frederick William Louis, April 8, 1863; twenty-nine letters from Felix Brannigan containing accounts of engagements in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania between the two armies, 1861-65; one box of papers of Ezra Ayres Carman pertaining to the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, 1862-63; ten papers of, or mainly relating to, Samuel E. Holt during the Civil War, 1863-65; twenty-four photostats of the papers of Walt Whitman pertaining to his connection with the government of the United States, 1864-65; five boxes of the papers of James Sullivan Clarkson, including family and political correspondence, 1866-1917; twenty-one letters from Charles Dudley Warner to his publisher, J. R. Osgood, mainly concerning *The Gilded Age* by Mark Twain and himself, 1874-93; about eighty pages of holograph notes "historiques et genealogiques sur les anciens Gouverneurs du Canada", in the Bibliothèque nationale, 1877; microfilm of 267 letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Maurice Egan, David M. Goodrich, Corinne and Douglas Robinson, and Oswald Garrison Villard, 1883-1918; one box of the papers of Señor Don Juan Riaño y Gayangos, Spanish ambassador to the United States, 1885-1926; letter from D. W. Taylor to Robert Todd Lincoln, November 18, 1887; letter from Woodrow Wilson to Horace E. Scudder, November 27, 1889; one volume of the "Commanding Officer's Journal" kept by or for Col. Percival C. Pope, commanding the marines, July 10-August 13, 1894, in California, and April 10-October 6, 1899, en route and in the Philippines; photo-

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stats of thirty-one papers of Warren Gamaliel Harding, 1897-1923; sheets 217-21 clipped from the *Northfield Echoes,* July, 1902, containing an address of Woodrow Wilson entitled "Religion and Patriotism"; photostat of a letter from John Hay to Charles F. Chandler, April 27, 1903; two volumes and six papers of the National Citizens Committee on Relations with Latin America, March 30, 1905-April 9, 1921, containing important data on the influence of banking institutions in the United States upon the government of Nicaragua; 166 letters and fifteen printed items of the papers and correspondence between George William Burton and William Howard Taft, 1908-30; photostat of the message of Woodrow Wilson to Congress asking authority to arm merchant ships, February 26, 1917; two boxes of personal retained records of the Army Sanitary School, Dental Section, American Expeditionary Forces, December 21, 1917-December 17, 1918, kept by Major William S. Rice; five boxes of microfilms of the Diary of Arthur [Crew] Inman, 1918-41, with introduction, 1894-1918; five volumes of the final report of the commissioner general of the United States of America to the Brazilian Centennial Exposition, 1922-23 (special deposit); typewritten and printed copies of poems written by Alonzo Newton Benn; photostat of a letter to David Baumgardt from Samuel Alexander, May 3, 1937, and from Sigmund Freud, November 3, 1938; photograph of a British-Arab Conference in London, February-March, 1939 (restricted); typewritten copy of remarks taken from the minutes of the Jewish Agency meeting in memory of Louis D. Brandeis, October 15, 1941; letter from Virginia Woolf to Dorothy Tyler, June 18, 1942; one volume of "A Washington Walkbook" kept by Dr. Robert L. Dickinson; photofilms of fifty-nine rolls of papers in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Audiencia de Mexico), and Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, Spain; twenty-four boxes of miscellaneous unpublished material collected by the W.P.A., including guides, "Publicity Writers' Projects by States", the foreign language press in New York, exhibits and picture books; undated certificate and receipt issued by the Washington National Monument Society to I. Winfield Phipps for a contribution and granting membership, undated; one volume entitled "Veterum Latinorum Editiones Principen by Angelo Illijcino collectae"; and a typewritten and autograph copy of *Milton and his Modern Critics,* with numerous corrections and additions in the handwriting of the author, Logan Pearsall Smith (pp. 67), and the correspondence of Virginia Woolf and Logan Pearsall Smith (43 sheets, of which 9 are in the autograph of Virginia Woolf).

A new collection of the papers of William Tecumseh Sherman, the gift of Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, of New York City, granddaughter of General Sherman, has been presented to the Library of Congress partly as an outright gift and partly with conditions. Adding distinction to the collection is a series of more than eighty letters from General Grant to General Sherman, most of them autograph letters, signed, continuing far beyond the war period through Grant's presidency.

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Nearly 15,000,000 typed slips, representing approximately 1,000,000 separate titles of American imprints to 1877 or, in certain newer states, to 1891, have been transferred by the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration to the Library of Congress. The Library has designated the Wisconsin State Historical Society as a depository for these cards for the duration of the war. The cards, covering books, pamphlets, and broadsides, are open to consultation by scholars. Some of the inventories of these imprints, grouped either by the state or city of origin, have been published.

The National Archives has received during recent months, partly as a result of the wartime pressure for office and storage space, exceptionally large quantities of noncurrent Federal records. Among the larger, more important groups received are records of a score of customhouses, 1773-1936; the main body of records of the Coast Guard and its predecessors, the Revenue-Cutter Service, the Life-Saving Service, and the Bureau of Lighthouses, 1789-1942; and records of the Public Health Service and its predecessors, 1833-1939. Notable among the many groups received from the War and Navy Departments are records of military departments and divisions in the Middle and Far West, 1858-1921; the World War Selective Service System, 1917-19; the Planning Branch of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, 1922-34; and the Navy Department Bureaus of Engineering, 1910-40, and Construction and Repair, 1896-1940. Other important groups received include the principal files of the Biological Survey, 1907-38, the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries and the Fisheries Bureau, 1894-1940, the Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering and its predecessors, 1868-1942, the Office of Experiment Stations of the Department of Agriculture, 1888-1932, the Commodity Credit Corporation, 1933-40, the Federal Trade Commission, 1915-38, W.P.A. Research and Records Projects and their predecessors, 1934-42, and the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, 1922-41. As a result of these and earlier accessions, the National Archives now has approximately 80 per cent of all Federal records in the District of Columbia that are more than fifty years old, exclusive of those of the General Accounting Office. More than 90 per cent of such records of the Senate, the State, War, Justice, and Labor Departments, and the Veterans' Administration and between 70 and 90 per cent of such records of the Navy and Interior Departments and the Civil Service Commission have been received. Because of the war situation the National Archives has been especially concerned with Federal records now located in exposed areas. Forrest R. Holdcamper has been named field representative of the National Archives for the West Coast region and has established headquarters in San Francisco, where he is assisting Federal agencies in records administration and in the inauguration of protective measures. Gaston L. Litton, who has returned to the National Archives staff after a year's leave of absence, during which he served as librarian of the University of Panama, similarly assisted Federal officials in the Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico while en route to Washington. Recent pub-

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lications of the National Archives include *The Role of the Archivist in Public Administration,* by Helen L. Chatfield, and *Old Records in a New War,* by Edward G. Campbell. The study of *Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War,* by Elizabeth B. Drewry, recently issued as a processed document, has been expanded and published as No. 4 of the *Bulletins* of the National Archives. Other processed documents recently issued include *The Protection of Federal Records against Hazards of War* and *Archives and the War,* both by Collas G. Harris, and *Records Administration and the War,* by Emmett J. Leahy, reprinted from *Military Affairs.* Copies of these publications are available upon request from the National Archives.

The Archivist of the United States announced the appointment to the staff of the National Archives of Dan M. Lacy, formerly state director of the Historical Records Survey in North Carolina and consultant for the Federal Historical Records Survey; Adeline V. Barry, formerly secretary of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council and more recently executive secretary of the Experimental Division of Library Cooperation of the Library of Congress; and Stuart Portner, formerly state supervisor of the Michigan Historical Records Survey. Other personnel changes include the transfer of Vernon G. Setser, of the Office of the Director of Reference Service, to the position of Senior Historian in the Office of the Quartermaster General in the War Department and the commissioning of the following members of the staff who have been called to military duty: Asa M. Thornton, second lieutenant in the Quartermaster Corps of the Army; James Minogue, lieutenant in the Hydrographic Office of the Navy; Daniel F. Noll, captain in the Adjutant General's Office of the Army; and Jesse S. Douglas, also a captain in the Adjutant General's Office.

President Roosevelt has recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, a file of his correspondence covering his activities as a leader in New York State politics during the years 1913-20. This correspondence relates to the endorsement and appointment of candidates for Federal office, and since virtually all the letters contain discussions of local political situations, the file constitutes an invaluable source for the political history of the state. Other papers received from the President include a diary kept by him during the first three years of his service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1913-16, and the manuscript of his book, *On Our Way,* published in 1934. George W. Roach, formerly state supervisor of the Work Projects Administration Historical Records Survey in New York, was appointed assistant archivist in the library on July 16.

The largest collection of Arabic manuscripts in the world and one of the three best collections of Western European manuscripts in this country, together described by Dr. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, as "one of the world's greatest collections of books and manuscripts", have come into the

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possession of the Princeton University Library through the generosity of Robert Garrett of Baltimore. In announcing acquisition of the Garrett Collection, Dr. Dodds said that it embodied "the best of the literature, art, religion, science, and history of the Islamic and Western civilizations". Most notable of the two sections of the collection is a group of six thousand Arabic manuscripts. In addition to these there are five thousand items from Western Europe, Greece, Turkey, Persia, India, Abyssinia, Egypt, and the Far East. The period covered by these manuscripts is from the eighth to the nineteenth centuries, except for the Egyptian papyri, which date from the pre-Christian era. Among the Arabic and Islamic manuscripts, which cover the entire range of Oriental thought and life from alchemy to horse breeding, the medical and scientific works are of particular interest. The Western European manuscripts are of great importance from the point of view of manuscript illumination and provide an invaluable source of religious, historical, and literary material of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The Greek manuscripts in the collection are of particular significance because of their contribution to the knowledge of Byzantine art.

A library of two thousand volumes and more than four thousand unbound books and pamphlets, dealing with significant social legislation in the United States, Great Britain, and Puerto Rico during the last fifty years, has been presented to Columbia University by Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor emeritus of social legislation. One of its features is a series of official documents from the International Labor Office in Geneva, including a set of the minutes of the governing body from 1919 to 1940, the early part of which had been confidential. This is one of three complete sets known to be in the United States.

Recent accessions by the New-York Historical Society include the following: Dr. Abram Joseph Abeloff's Franklin collection; sixty letters from Governor George Clinton to his daughter, Cornelia, and to her husband, Edmond Charles Genêt, 1792-1812, letters from Cornelia Clinton Genêt to her husband, and other Clinton family correspondence; papers of Rev. Dr. Henry Albert Stimson (1842-1936), former pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle and of the Manhattan Congregational Church in New York City; papers of the American Defense Society, including correspondence, pamphlets, circulars, and clippings, 1916-39, gift of Mr. Charles Stewart Davison.

The late Governor Horner left his library to the Illinois State Historical Society, with the provision that certain material should be offered to the Chicago Historical Society. As a result there will be an addition of many volumes and pamphlets to the already extensive collection of Lincolniana in the Chicago Historical Society.

There has been established in the Control Division, Headquarters, Services of Supply, Washington, D. C., a Historical Section under the supervision of Major John D. Millett. All divisions and services which have not already done so will appoint a historical officer immediately.

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The First National Historical Congress of Cuba met in Havana on October 8 to 12 under the auspices of the Sociedad Cubana de Estudios Históricos e Internacionales and the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana, the Academy of History co-operating. The occasion of the meeting was the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of America, but discussions embraced the whole field of history. Dr. Fernando Ortiz was chosen to preside over the congress, and Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, the Historian of the City of Havana, was the general secretary. The work of the congress was grouped into the following sections: General History, History of America, and History of Cuba. Foreign as well as Cuban historians were invited to present papers and take part in the discussions.

The fiftieth anniversary of the American Jewish Historical Society was commemorated at the annual meeting of the society held on June 14 at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, located in Philadelphia. Three sessions were held, at which papers were presented. Attention is called to the fact that the objects of the society include the prosecution of researches into American Jewish history and Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the latter is related to American Jewish history. The society collects and publishes material related to that history and maintains a library and museum for the preservation of such material at its headquarters, located in the building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Northeast Corner, Broadway and 122d Street, New York City. Since its organization the society has issued thirty-six volumes of its *Publications*. Inquiries concerning the *Publications* and the activities of the society should be addressed to the Librarian, Isidore S. Meyer, 3080 Broadway, New York City.

The second annual meeting of the Economic History Association was held at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, on September 4 and 5. The following papers of historical interest were presented: "The Newspaper in Economic Development", by Harold A. Innis; "Tradition and Agricultural Development in New Mexico", by Sanford A. Mosk; "Bankers of Medieval Bruges", by Raymond de Roover; "The Branches of the First Bank of the United States", by James O. Wettereau.

A conference on "Social Education in Wartime and After" will be held in New York City during the Thanksgiving holidays, November 26-28. The conference will constitute the twenty-second annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies. Conclusions of the conference will subsequently be published by the National Council. Anyone interested in attending all or part of the conference should write for further information to Wilbur F. Murra, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Arthur C. Bining, University of Pennsylvania, the com-

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pletion of a history of the iron and steel industry in the United States, 1865-1942; Charles A. Gulick, jr., University of California, the completion of a study of the Austrian working-class movement, 1918-37; Courtney Robert Hall, Adelphi College, the completion of a history of American military medicine; Rowland Hill Harvey, University of California, the completion of a study of labor troubles in the metal and coal mines of the Rocky Mountain States in the years 1888-1914; Merrill Jensen, University of Washington, the completion of a history of the United States during the Confederation Period, 1781-89; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, the completion of a study of religious minorities in England since 1660; Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University, the completion of a study of the economic and social structure of Georgia, 1785-1860; Gordon W. Prange, University of Maryland, a compilation and analysis of Hitler's speeches; Sister Mary Augustina Ray, Mundelein College, the completion of a study of American public opinion with respect to the movement for independence in Latin America; Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, the completion of a study of the advent of modern medicine in the United States, 1800-1900; Margaret Marion Spector, Everett Junior College, the completion of a study of British colonial policy during the American Revolution; Edgar Zilsel, Institute for Social Research, the completion of an analysis of society, technology, and economy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Southern grants-in-aid are: William Clarence Askew, University of Arkansas, the completion of a study of America and the Great Powers, 1871-1914; Rudolph Leopold Biesele, University of Texas, the completion of a study of the life and career of Bernard E. Bee, with particular emphasis on the political history of Texas, 1836-46; Gordon Thomas Chappell, Newberry College, the completion of a study of land speculation in the Old Southwest; Lester Fields Sheffy, West Texas State College, the completion of a history of the colonization of West Texas; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, the completion of a study of civilian morale in the Confederacy. Postdoctoral fellowships are: Richard Burks, Wayne University, training in the political history of the La Plata countries; William Ebenstein, University of Wisconsin, field training in the organization and operation of political parties in Argentina. A predoctoral fellowship was awarded to A. William Salomone, University of Pennsylvania, for field training in modern Italian history.

Personal

American scholarship in the field of Catholic church history suffered a loss by the death on June 6 of Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Research Professor of History in Loyola University, Chicago. Father Garraghan was born in 1871, received his A. B. from St. Ignatius College, Chicago, and his doctorate from St. Louis University. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1890. In 1925 he became

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professor of history in St. Louis University and head of the department in 1931. A year later he accepted a call to the position he held at the time of his death. His historical writing covered the beginnings of the Catholic Church in Kansas City, Missouri, in Chicago, and in Maryland. He published biographies of St. Ferdinand de Florissant (1923) and of Marquette (1937). His major work, *The Jesuits in the Middle United States,* in three volumes, appeared in 1938. He left in completed manuscript a manual of historical method, based upon Feder's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* but embodying his own thirty years of study and enriched by many illustrations drawn from historical magazines, wherever possible in the field of American history.

Dr. George A. Reisner, the distinguished archaeologist and Egyptologist and leader of the Harvard expeditions to the Pyramids of Giza since 1905, died on June 7 at the age of seventy-four. He had carried on his work recently despite ill health and approaching blindness. He died as he chose to die, at the Pyramids in the midst of his lifelong labors. His researches had won him wide recognition from learned groups and from the Egyptian government. To the generality of scholars he was known for his solution of the riddle of the Sphinx published in 1913, namely, that it was a portrait statue of Chephren, builder of the second pyramid. The general public heard him in 1938 in an N. B. C. broadcast from inside the Pyramid of Cheops.

Dr. Freeman Harlow Allen, professor and head of the department of history and politics of Colgate University from 1909 until his retirement in 1935, died on June 12 at his home in Hamilton, New York, at the age of seventy-nine.

Pierre Champion, paleographer, historian, and critic, died in Paris on June 29 at the age of sixty-four. M. Champion was a prolific writer and a member of the Institute since 1929. His recent election to the Goncourt Academy produced a split in that body. At the time of his death he was a member of Pétain's advisory council, of the departmental council of the Seine, and mayor of Nogent-sur-Marne. Among his many works were biographies of Ronsard, Charles d'Orléans, Louis XI, Agnes Sorel, Jeanne d'Arc, Catherine de' Medici, François Villon, and Charles IX. His father, Honoré Champion, and his brother Édouard directed the well-known publishing firm.

Complications following a serious operation caused the death on July 3 of Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, professor of American history in the University of Texas. Dr. Ramsdell had been identified for nearly forty years with the history and the writing of the history of Texas, his native state, and with the development of historical scholarship in the fields of Southern and Southwestern history. He had endeared himself to many generations of Texas students, not only as a teacher but as a friend who always remembered them and promoted their interests. His genial personality drew to him a wide circle of friends. Professor Ramsdell was born in Salado, Texas, and was graduated from the state university in 1903.

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He received his doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1910. He was a member of the staff of the University of Texas from 1906 until his death, being promoted to a professorship in 1917. He was active as a member and on the Council of the American Historical Association (1931-34). He was equally active in promoting the interests of the Texas State Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He had been secretary-treasurer of the former since 1907 and was president of the latter, 1928-29. His doctoral dissertation was on *Reconstruction in Texas*. His last major work was as joint editor with W. H. Stephenson of the ten-volume *History of the South*. Much of his time and effort in recent years had been devoted to finding and preserving the written records of Texas and the South still in private hands. Future scholars will always be his debtors for the material which without his labors might never have been preserved or made available.

Thomas Francis Meehan, distinguished Roman Catholic journalist, died at his home in New York City on July 7, at the age of eighty-seven. In 1906 he was assistant managing editor of the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* and he wrote many of the historical articles in it. At the time of his death he was president of the United States Catholic Historical Society and, since 1916, the editor of the *Historical Records and Studies* and the Monograph Series published by that society. He was a close associate of John G. Shea in the latter's historical work, wrote a life of Thomas Mulry, and edited the autobiography of his close friend, Maurice Francis Egan, minister to Denmark during the first World War.

History as well as his own special fields of political science and international law suffered a loss in the death on July 7, in his seventy-first year, of Professor Jesse Siddall Reeves of the University of Michigan. After the practice of law for ten years he had returned to teaching at Dartmouth and, since 1910, at the University of Michigan. Many honors and opportunities for public service came to him in the past thirty years. He was James Schouler lecturer in history and political science at Johns Hopkins in 1926, and in 1928 he was president of the American Political Science Association. He was a member of the American Historical Association, and among his many publications the following dealt with historical themes: *The International Beginnings of the Congo Free State* (1894), *The Napoleonic Exiles in America* (1905), and *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk* (1907).

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, whose noteworthy contributions to the history of Wisconsin and the Old Northwest have earned for themselves a permanent place in American historiography, died on July 11 at Madison, Wisconsin, after a brief illness. Born in Milwaukee on May 12, 1862, she received her undergraduate education in that city and at the University of Wisconsin, after which she studied abroad at the University of Paris and the London School of History and Economics. She then returned to the University of Wisconsin, where, in 1901, she completed

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her work for the Ph.D. degree. Her dissertation, entitled *The American Colonial Charter,* received the Justin Winsor Prize and was published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903 (I, 185-341). Upon completion of her graduate work, Miss Kellogg joined the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as editorial assistant to the then director, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, and began helping him in the editing of the notable series of documents on the French period in the Old Northwest which the society was then publishing. She furnished the translations of most of the French material that appeared in the volumes issued after she joined the staff and contributed to the work of research and annotation. She received recognition as joint editor with Dr. Thwaites of the *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (1905), *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (1908), and *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (1912) and, after his death, continued this series on the Ohio Valley in the Revolutionary period by editing *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779* (1916) and *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (1917). To the Original Narratives of American History series she contributed *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-99* (1917), which contained her translations of the journals and narratives of the noted French explorers and missionaries of the period. In 1923 the Caxton Club published her two-volume translation, with introduction and notes, of Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North America.* The unusual knowledge of original sources which she acquired in the course of these extensive editorial labors was put to fortunate use in the preparation of her two authoritative histories, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (1925), her most outstanding book, and *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (1935). Further contributions were made through scores of well-written articles in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* and other professional journals and through the approximately seventy articles contributed to the *Dictionary of American Biography.* She wrote frequently on Indian history in the Wisconsin region and on the West in the American Revolution and was an acknowledged authority in these fields. Miss Kellogg, in her forty years of service as editorial assistant, research associate, and senior research associate, ably carried forward the high standards of scholarship and editorial activity established by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at the turn of the century under Thwaites's leadership. For a generation she was the best-known woman historian in the West. She has been the only one of her sex to be elected president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1930), of which she was a founder. Honorary degrees and election to fellowship in the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain were further evidence of the place she had won. She also won the regard of colleagues and associates, who will prize their memories of her friendly, co-operative spirit.

Dr. Helen L. Young, chairman of the history department of Hunter College, died on July 12 at the age of sixty-four. Dr. Young was graduated from Cornell

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University in 1900 and received her doctor's degree from Yale University in 1910. She went to Hunter the latter year. In 1939 she was elected chairman of the department and had announced her retirement at the end of the recent summer session.

Dr. Emmett LeRoy Harshbarger, professor of history in Bethel College (Kansas), died on July 26 in his forty-first year. In the course of his preparation he was an assistant instructor in the history department of Ohio State University, where he took his doctorate in 1933. In 1936 he was a Carnegie fellow in international law at the University of Michigan. During his years at Bethel College, from 1933 until his death, he was active in promoting the study and discussion of international relations.

Dr. Alexander C. Flick, who died on July 30 at the age of seventy-two, will be remembered best for the work he did for the cause of state history while he was director of the department of archives and history of the New York department of education from 1923 to his retirement in 1939. During these years he edited the *History of the State of New York* and did much to develop and sustain interest in local history. His own studies and publications covered, however, a much wider range. After graduation from Otterbein College, Ohio, in 1894 he finished his work for the doctorate at Columbia in 1901, presenting a dissertation on *Loyalism in New York*. He had meantime begun teaching at Syracuse University. He became professor of European history at that institution and head of the department of history and political science. These appointments he held until 1923, when he resigned to take up his work in Albany. During his teaching years he was much interested in church history and published useful volumes on the *Rise of the Mediaeval Church* (1909) and the *Decline of the Medieval Church* (1930). His *Modern World History since 1775* (1935) was aimed at the college classes. His last published work was a life of *Samuel Jones Tilden* (1939).

Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie, the British archaeologist, and Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian historian, died in July and August, respectively. More extended notices will appear in the January issue.

Dr. George C. Sellery retired on June 30 as dean emeritus and professor of history emeritus at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. David A. Lockmiller, former head of the department of history and political science at North Carolina State College, in September became president of the University of Chattanooga.

Reverend John Tracy Ellis returns, after a sabbatical year, as assistant professor of history in charge of courses in American church history in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America. He continues his work as managing editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* and secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association.

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The following appointments are noted: *Bryn Mawr College,* Christina Phelps Grant of Barnard College as associate professor; *University of California,* John Rydjord of the Municipal University of Wichita as lecturer for the current year; *Catholic University of America,* Friedrich Engel-Janosi as visiting professor; *University of Illinois,* Charles E. Nowell of Fresno State College as assistant professor; *State University of Iowa,* Troyer S. Anderson of Swarthmore College as professor; *North Carolina State College,* James W. Patton of Converse College as associate professor; *Stanford University,* Arthur E. Bestor, jr., of Columbia University as assistant professor of humanities; *University of Wisconsin,* Merle Curti of Columbia University as professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Bethel College,* Melvin Gingerich to be chairman of the department; *Bryn Mawr College,* Elizabeth Moore Cameron to be assistant professor; *Bucknell University,* J. Orin Oliphant to be professor and Daniel J. Gage to be associate professor; *University of California* (Berkeley), George H. Guttridge to be professor; *University of California* (Los Angeles), Charles L. Mowat to be assistant professor; *Catholic University of America,* Francis B. Steck to be associate professor and Edward P. Lilly to be assistant professor; *University of Illinois,* Theodore C. Pease to be head of the department; *Louisiana State University,* William B. Hatcher to be professor, Lynn M. Case and Edwin A. Davis to be associate professors; *New York University,* Robert R. Ergang to be assistant professor; *Wake Forest College,* Henry S. Stroupe to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin,* William L. Sachse to be assistant professor.

Among members of the historical craft serving in the armed forces of the United States are the following: M. G. Baxter, R. G. Bone, Gray C. Boyce, Gustav E. Johnson, John L. LaMonte, Ronald F. Lee, Morris C. Leikind, Samuel Eliot Morison, C. E. Odegaard, Walter C. Richardson, L. R. Sorenson, C. G. Starr.

Professor Earl H. Pritchard of Wayne University is on leave for special service with the War Department in Washington.

Communications

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I feel that I must protest to you against the comments on my recent book, *The Ancient Greeks,* which appear in the *American Historical Review,* XLVII (1942), 569 f. For these comments give an impression that I have been guilty of gross carelessness or of plagiarism.

I do not consider it necessary for an author to explain the relation between his book and certain articles by himself, previously published and here not reprinted but much revised. Pages 88-92 of my book were taken from an article of mine in *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* LVI (1925), 162-71. A good deal of chapter v, pages 93-124, was taken from another article of mine

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entitled "Thermopylae and Artemisium", in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* for 1920. A good deal of chapter VI, pages 125-52, was taken from my article, "Absolute Democracy", in the *Unpopular Review,* V (1916), 332-48. A good deal of chapter VIII, pages 183-209, was taken from my articles, "Thucydides and Cratippus", in *Classical Philology,* XXII (1927), 399-408, "How Thucydides wrote his History", in *Class. Philol.,* XXV (1930), 117-27, and "Thucydides and the Cimonian Monuments", in the *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes,* XXXI (1938), 36-41. Reference to all these articles is made in the footnotes, excepting the article in the *Unpopular Review,* reference to which was inadvertently omitted.

My indebtedness to Beloch on pages 69 and 89-91 should be clear from note 24 on page 69, note 22 on page 90, and note 23 on page 91. Beloch's opinions here are not printed in quotation marks because they are much abridged and restated.

With one exception (p. 93, taken from *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.,* 1920) the quotations from Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums,* Volume III, first edition, 1903, occur in chapters V and VI. The former of these chapters is based largely on my article in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* for 1920, and the latter is based on my article in the *Unpopular Review* for 1916, both of which were published before the second edition of the *Geschichte des Altertums* appeared. In the revision of these articles in this book these references should perhaps have been changed to conform to the second edition, although this would have been somewhat difficult and not altogether desirable, because the second edition has been largely rearranged by the editor.

Princeton University WILLIAM K. PRENTICE

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is true that the author of *The Ancient Greeks* gives references, except in one instance, to articles previously written by himself and substantially incorporated in certain chapters of his book. This I conceded in my review. The points I made were, first, that the authorship of these articles is not revealed; and secondly, that nowhere is the reader told that large parts of these articles reappear, practically word for word, in the present work.

As for the relation between certain passages in the book and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte,* one need only consult the parallel passages indicated in my review to discover that in these instances Beloch's text is neither abridged nor restated but literally translated. Indeed, the passage from Beloch which begins, "Dies Übergewicht der Grossgrundbesitzer", appears in English translation in the author's article in the *Unpopular Review* with quotation marks and in *The Ancient Greeks* without them.

The author's last point requires no comment.

Ohio State University W. F. MCDONALD

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CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

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